

THE
SOLDIER'S GUIDE:
BEING AN
ESSAY

Offer'd to all of that Profession.

AUTHORIS'D

By many late Examples, especially
in the Late WARS

BETWEEN

France and Holland;

Containing divers

OBSERVATIONS

Upon several

Remarkable Accidents, which hap-
pened in those WARS.

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Chap. I.

**THE
SOLDIERS GUIDE.**

CHAP. I.

*That of all the Conditions of Life,
there is none so noble for ones self,
nor so useful for ones Country, as
that of a Soldier.*



HERE are four Con-
ditions in a Civil Life.

1. That of the Sword:

2. That of the Gown:

3. That of Trade: 4. That of Hus-
bandry: These Four are all useful
in a State. The Soldiers part is
the making it great; repressing the
Enterprises of the Enemies; and
containing the People within the
duty and respect which they owe

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to

to their Sovereign. The Gownmen, they make the Laws flourish; hinder the Stronger from oppressing the Weaker: and restrain the Wicked by the fear of Punishment. The Merchants transport into Forreign Countries what we have of superfluous, and import what we have not enough of. By the means of these we have Money for what is superfluous, and we have from abroad what either Necessity or Curiosity can make us desire. The Labourers they Till and Sow the Ground, and their pains are as useful to the Rich as the Poor, since they both gain by their Labour: But although in all these Conditions every one concurs in advancing the good and greatness of the State: Yet in my opinion, of all the Conditions of Life a Man can chuse, there is none so useful to his Country, nor so honorable for himself as that of a Soldier.

In

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In effect if we consider the Dangers whereto he exposes himself every day; must not we all agree, that as he sacrifices all that is most dear to him, for the safety of his Country; I mean even to the very last drop of his Blood? So his Country is much otherwise obliged to him, than to those who only afford it a few careful Days and watchful Nights. Add to this that his Country it self could not subsist without him, since as I have said, he doth not only make it his business to enlarge its Dominion but to defend it also against all the attempts of its Enemies; but that which admits of no contradiction, is that 'tis he who is even the support of the Gown-man, the Merchant, and the Husbandman; for how should the Gentlemen of the Long Robe make the Laws to be observed; if there were not a Sol-diery in the State to render the

Prince powerful enough to enforce the Wicked to submit to his Laws? Or how would the Merchant be able to make Trade flourish, if there were not Men of War to convoy them into Foreign Parts, and to guard them safely back into our own Ports? And lastly how can the Husbandman till his Ground, unless the Soldier keeps him in Peace? Let us then conclude from what I have already said; That of all Professions, there is none so Noble for a Man, or so useful to the State, as that of Men who know the Profession of Arms. Therefore it is not to be admired, if those who have any ambition, prefer it before all others. But since this Condition requires many extraordinary Qualities to succeed well in it, I will venture to say there is nothing so dangerous as to enter into it without examining ones self, whether one be
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proper for it. First, then, as every one knows there is Courage required; and therefore I shall say nothing of it here, supposing every one will inform himself enough of it: But this I shall observe, that no Man can be truly brave if he does not fear God; and I must lay it down for a Principle, that the Quality which is most necessary for a Soldier, is to be a good Man. Secondly, this Condition requires Wisdom; and provided he have these two Qualities, I will maintain there is nothing which he may not reasonably hope for; besides the reasons which I shall alledg, to prove what I have said, there are a Thousand Examples which ought to convince, some of which I shall hereafter give, because I know Examples do often make more impression upon the minds of Men, than all the reasons which can be brought; and when

I have proved these two things, I shall pass to some Observations I made whilst I was in Service, which I doubt not but will be of use to those who design to engage themselves in this Noble Profession: For after having often observed that those who had the most experience, could not avoid sometimes committing of Errors; with much more reason am I induced to believe, that those who have had none at all, have need of some Lessons which may hinder them from committing them, that is to say in common things; for I must have been void of judgment to pretend that a Soldier can learn his Profession in a Book. All these remarks are drawn from Examples which have happened so lately, that if there be any thing found in them so surprizing, as to make them doubted of, it will be easie to clear it, there being few now in Service

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Service, who by refreshing their memories, will not remember whatever I here advance to be true; and to give the more Authority to what I shall say, I shall often name the Persons I speak of, unless I say something to their disadvantage, in which case I hope I may be pardoned if I abstain from doing it, my intention being not to speak evil of any body: I shall not pretend to any great order in this Book, because if I did, I might possibly find it difficult to succeed in it, Men of my Profession most commonly making better use of the Sword than of the Pen; besides, my intention is not to write a History, which would require more circumspection, but a Collection of many things, which when found useful, will always be lookt upon as well enough written.

CHAP. II.

That an Officer ought to be indued with Religion, as well for the effect which that produces in the Minds of others, as for the Advantage he will receive from it towards the making of his Fortune.

THERE is not in being a Man so wicked, as not to believe in his heart there is a God, and who doth not fear his Judgment; all that we see in Nature instructs us there is something above us; and when we would not confess it, we feel every day so many Benefits which flow from it, that that is more than sufficient to convince us of it, in spite of our selves: There was no more required to make the Ancients confess that there was some Being above which governed all
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we see, they being so fully persuaded of this Truth, that they commanded very rigorous Punishments to be inflicted on those who maintained the contrary opinion; for *Prothagoras* one of the first Philosophers, was banished from *Athens*, for having maintained, that every thing was produced by Nature. And *Anaxagoras* who followed him in his Errors, was put in Prison for the same thing: And *Socrates* condemned to death. Then certainly ought it to be very shameful for us, that Men who had no other light, but that of reason should teach us what we ought to believe: Here would be a good place for a large Moral Discourse, if that were my Subject, but it not being so, I shall content my self with saying that it is so necessary for an Officer to make himself known to be indued with Religion, that without it I do not

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think he can hope to make his Fortune. And in my opinion there are Four convincing Reasons for it ; First there cannot be any great trust reposed in a Man who forgets his Duty to God, for much more it is to be presumed that he will forget what is due from him to the King. Secondly, it is a very bad way to make himself esteemed to appear irreligious, it being peculiar to impiety, to treat an aversion to it in all the World, even in the most debauched. The third Reason is, that he cannot be brave who is not pious ; for let an ill Man counterfeit never so much, he always goes into the Battel with fear, and if it were in his own choice alone he would not go. The fourth is, that he cannot hope for any great Commands, because in the Fight the pricks and remorse of Conscience will so disturb his Mind, that he cannot bring himself off with Honour. But

But I would not be understood here to blame in the least that remorse of Conscience which often works good effects; but I say, That if our Religion requires us to take another time to look to our Conscience, the King's service requires it yet much more: An undisturbed presence of mind being then absolutely necessary, so as to know how to make ones best advantage. I very well know, that the most impious affect this presence of mind, when they are commanded out; but notwithstanding all their endeavours to disguise it, it is easie to see they do not enjoy the calmness of mind they affect; and when they are engaged in Fight, it is yet much more easie to perceive the disturbance and agitation wherein they are. I desire for Witnesses no others than the Persons themselves, who have happened to be upon service without having put in order the

the Affairs of their Conscience, and if they will but be sincere, I am sure they will confess they never were so much perplexed: But if this truth must be authorized by Examples, many debauchees will furnish me but with too many, of such who have marched into the Battel without fearing any thing, and so much as thinking there was a God; and yet notwithstanding, no sooner were they Wounded, but they spoke of nothing but of his Judgments, and of the fear they were in of them: So true it is, that there is no Person who can forbear trembling when he thinks what an account he must give of his Actions to the Divine Justice. I might have had thousands of Examples, as I have said, to prove this truth, but I shall content my-self with mentioning only two, the one a Captain of Dragoons furnishes me with, and the other the Count *de Guiche*, whose

whose Death was so different from his Life, that we cannot enough admire the Judgments of God, which when he pleases produces such great changes.

A Captain of the Dragoons of the most Irreligious of the Army, and who had a Vanity to be thought so, having been dangerously wounded at the Battel of *Turkheim*, the Chyrurgions advised him to think of his Conscience; and seeing that they did in earnest despair of his Cure, he began to shed so many Tears that they made more shew than the Bloud he shed out of his Wound; he said to all those that came to see him, that he had no fear of Death at all, but that the Judgments of God made him tremble; that although he had always seemed to have no Religion, yet the stings of Conscience had made him learn that he was at last to give an account
of

of all his Actions; that he beg'd their pardons for the Scandal which he had given them, and that it should please God to give him time to repent, he hoped by his change of Life to shew what his Repentance was; At the same time he threw himself out of the bed upon the ground, kissing the Earth, and asking every one if he thought after all the Crimes he had committed God would be so merciful as to pardon him? It did please God to give him time for Repentance, and he being restored to his health, retired amongst the Fathers of the Oratory, where he now lives.

The Count *de Guiche* Lieutenant General of the King's Armies, was a Man of extraordinary Merit and great Learning; but had not in his youth been free from the Extravagances incident to it, (and the evil Example of some Debauchees had so much power over him, as
to

to seduce him contrary to his inclination, and the height of his own reason) finding himself upon his Death-bed, he was desirous, that as all the Court had been Witnesses of his failings, they should also be so of his repentance; he spoke of his past Disorders with so deep a regret, and so feeling an Eloquence, that they were all edified by him, making such a description of the Vanities of the Age, as they then appeared to him, that he made even those who were plunged the deepest into them, sensible that they sought nothing thereby but their own ruine and destruction; he bad them take example by him, and reflect upon what he carried out of the World, after having possess'd so much Honour and Riches: In a word he died with so good thoughts, and so worthy of a Christian, that none went from him without Tears in
their

their Eyes, and extreamly edified by the Conversion of this Lord, who had so totally resign'd himself up to the Will of God.

CHAP. III.

That Wisdom is necessary for a Soldier and that without it he cannot hope to make his Fortune.

THIS Chapter has great relation to the foregoing one; for as the wise Man saith, *The fear of the Lord is the beginning of Wisdom*: So I had reason to make the fear of God to precede Wisdom, and to say that that is the first Quality which is necessary for a Soldier. But I am not of opinion that the Wisdom of a Soldier consists in a grave outside, which ought on the contrary always to be free and pleasant; for it will be

be much better for him to be merry, than dull and sad; but I would have him shew it by digesting well a design as he should do by obviating the difficulties which may hinder its execution, and at length by executing it with Conduct. These three parts are so necessary for a Soldier to supply, that if he fails in either of the three, he cannot hope to gain any great Reputation: For what good will it do him to have formed a great design, if he knows not how to remove all obstructions to the effecting of it; or if he wants conduct in the execution of it: A Man must therefore (before he engages in this Profession) sound himself, and consider what he is proper for. For if a Man has not solid and penetrating Parts, it is in vain for him to hope to make any great Fortune; War does not consist in only knowing how to strike, but
when

when to strike to the purpose ; Many times there must be recourse had to Stratagem and Invention, for he who pretends always to overcome his Enemy with open force, will often run the hazard of doing him no great hurt : one must know what part to act according to the occasion, sometimes charge, and sometimes retreat : For although sometimes rash Actions prove lucky ; yet a Man is more to be commended for doing what he ought, than for happening to beat the Enemy, when he ought not to have fought. Now, we ought not to imagin that this prudence in these Actions is only necessary for Generals, for every private Captain hath as much need as they, and it happens in many occasions that this is his only Counsellour and director ; and if he then fails of doing what is expected from a wise Man, let him never
ex-

expect to be entrusted with any other Commands, of which the Generals will be sure to take care, for it would shew as much want of judgment in them as in him, if after having known his want of Capacity, they should intrust him with any great Affairs.

CHAP. IV.

That a Man must be assured of his own Courage, before he resolves to be a Soldier.

Since I have only said a word by the by concerning the Courage which a Man ought to have that goes into the Army; it will not be improper to speak more largely of it here, because many People engage themselves without reflection, and without considering the inconveniences which may happen;

happen; besides I look upon it as a general Rule, that before we embrace any Condition, we must think well of it: for it were much better not to have undertaken a thing, than not to acquit one self as one ought to do of it. This reflection is particularly necessary for a Man who designs to make Arms his profession, because the accidents which may happen in it are of much greater consequence than in any other condition: For example, If a Man makes himself a Merchant, and does not know his Trade, the only hazard he runs is of losing his Estate, but does not lose his Honour: In the same manner, a Man who betakes himself to the Gown, and who with a moderate sufficiency of Parts, endeavours to distribute Justice to every one, tho he may not pass for an able Man, yet doth at least for a good Judg: But a
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Soldier who suffers the least stain in his Reputation is a Man without Honour. There are always Persons who examine his conduct, and do not pardon the least thing in him; he must be stout in the greatest dangers; he must have Prudence in all Enterprizes; he must be able to penetrate into the most difficult Affairs, and be active in the execution of them; he must not suffer any indignity to be put upon him, and yet not be quarrellsom; for if he be not possess'd of all these Qualities, he is a Man of no consideration amongst the Men of Service, and cannot pretend to distinguish himself but to his own prejudice: Notwithstanding most Men without making reflection upon all these things, go into the War as if they went into *Hide-Park*, or to a Feast: They suffer themselves to be taken by the Eyes, and are charmed by

by the Gold-lace they observe upon the back of an Officer, or some embroidered Saddle and Hoose which they see upon a fine Horse, they think presently 'tis but going into the War to have all this, not considering that to support this finery they who have them must have had a great Estate of their own, or that the King has recompenced their actions with great gifts, or which is most to be feared, a great many miserable Families have been ruined for it in a Winter Quarters. The Ladies contribute very much to encline young Men to take this resolution, because they observe that the Soldiers are esteemed by them above all others, there is nothing that they will not do to gain their favour; but truly I think they buy it at a little too dear a rate, who go into the Army only, out of complaisance, and without

out being stirred up to it by their own inclinations. I have seen some so weary of it even at the beginning of the first Campaign, that it moved Compassion to see them; for notwithstanding the toyl is great there, that ought not to be a reason against a Man's embracing this Condition, if he have the least share of resolution and health, for the Bodies of Men harden themselves insensibly for a fatigue, and some who find themselves incommoded the first Campaign, forget it in a years time; therefore there is in my opinion but one thing only which can dissuade a Man of Quality from taking the Sword, that is if he finds he hath not Courage enough; for if so, he would do himself the greatest injury in the World to go on purpose to shew his Infamy in so good company, there being so many other conditions which he may choose, in which he may notwithstanding gain a Reputation,

putation. For example it would be no shame for him not to be thought stout if he makes himself a Clergy-man or a Lawyer, or be of any other Profession; but so soon as he has put a Sword to his side, he is laughed at by all the World if he omits doing his Duty: I have seen many exposed to scorn and raillery, for want of having made this reflection; and amongst others, a Brother of one of the chief Magistrates of *Paris*, who was a Captain of Horse, and fled so soon as he perceived the Enemy, which caused the King to cashier him, and send him home with Dishonour: whereas had he but taken upon him a Gown, as his Brother had done, he might have lived with Reputation, and been esteem'd by all the World. I have also known a Son of a Knight of the Order, who had also a Marshal of *France* in his Family, shew great weaknesses of
this

this kind, so that he was obliged to change his Condition, that he might not continue a Laughing-stock to others.

There are some who have more Honour than others, and who having once inconsiderately imbarqued themselves, not being fit for it, do notwithstanding do their Duty, when they are once in the Army, as if they were naturally stout; they suffer very much, and I find that after having committed a fault, they can however be esteemed and thought braver than others. A Person of one of the richest Families in *Paris*, having taken the Command of a Troop of Horse, was in the greatest disorder imaginable when he was in the Army, he could not accustom himself to the noise of the Cannon or Muskets, but took such distaste at the Trade, that he took nothing that digested with him; notwithstanding this,

in all things wherein he was commanded, he shewed no manner of weakness, but at his return from the Army he commanded his Valet *de Chambre* to fetch him his Cloak, and being the first who laughed at his own fear, told his Friends that he would be contented to run the Gantlet, if ever he was seen to wear a Sword again, unless upon a Journey into the Country, and so immediately resigned his Command to the King, and bought an Office belonging to the Gown, which he did not long keep.

This is what we must do, when we have made so little use of our reason, as not to think what we do, one Campaign is soon past over, and it is better to put some force upon ones self for a short time than to be lost for ones whole Life, but the surest way is to consider it throughly before we engage ourselves. What I say here, is Calculated
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lared for every body , and Persons of the greatest Quality may learn by it as well as others : I know very well they cannot live in any great esteem without going into the Army; but if I were in their places I had rather chuse to live in the Country upon my Estate, than go thither to be laughed at; for the more a Man is raised above others, the less can he hope his faults should be hid.

CHAP. V.

Of the things necessary for a Man to know, before he goes into the Army.

WHen a Young Man goes first into the Army, there are some things that are absolutely necessary for him to know , and others which he may be ignorant

of without prejudice to his Honour; he ought to understand that he is obliged to shew respect to all his Superiors, Civility and Deference to his equals, and to all Officers, and Love and Charity towards those he commands: But this kindness to those under his Command, ought not to reach so far as to release them from doing exactly their Duty, for in that case he cannot be too severe. The knowledge of all these Duties, will hinder him from falling into great Errors: First, he can not shew want of respect towards his Superiors, without being reprehended and even punished for it: The Generals always taking care, that the respect which is due, be given to every one, not according to his Birth, but to the Command he is in: so that a young Man must not, under pretence that he is of great Quality, think he may therefore fail of shewing all respect

respect to a Soldier of Fortune, and by yielding to him all manner of Deference, he will do himself no prejudice, and if he should fail in it, would quickly be forc'd to it: Secondly, if he be civil to all his Equals, it will cause him to be esteemed by all the World; Civility having in it the particular Quality of gaining the Heart, whereas Pride is loved by no body: Thirdly, if he be respectful towards all the Officers, every one will speak well of him, and he may hope as well to make his Fortune thereby, as by his great Actions; for reputation in War is often as advantageous as any thing else: Fourthly, if he has Charity for all those who are Commanded by him, they will undoubtedly love him, which will be of no small advantage to him; for when Soldiers love their Officer, they will never leave him in any Action, and will by their firmness make

him gain a great deal of Reputation. It is not the same with those who misuse their Soldiers; for besides that, they are very often shot by them in the Back, it is also certain, that the Soldiers being glad to make them receive an affront, will often give ground on purpose, and prefer their Revenge before their Honour.

We see therefore, that there is a necessity of being Instructed in these Four Duties, before we go into the Army, for unless we know them, we may commit great Errors; and it to be observed, that there is nothing more dangerous than to fail at the beginning: the first Impression which is given of a Person being always the strongest. I was made to take notice of the first of these Duties, the very first day I approach'd the Army, in a manner which surpriz'd me; I was a Cornet in a Royal foreign Regiment.

ment, and going to my Post, the Regiment being then in *Flanders*, I passed through *Arras*, where *Monsieur de Montaigle* who Commanded in the place, was sick; I had Letters of Recommendation to him, and being desirous to deliver them my self, I went to wait upon him. He receiv'd me very civilly before he op'ned the Letters, but then finding I was an Officer in the Regiment, he took upon him a great deal of Gravity, and told me that *Monsieur Lombard* Major of the Regiment, was just come from the Army with a Convoy; That he had spoken to him of me, as of a Person who was recommended to him by a great many Persons of Quality, and that I should do well to have the honour of seeing him; *Monsieur Lambard* was Major of the foreign Royal Regiment, as I have before said, and a very brave Man in his Person, but whose Merit was grea-

ter than his Birth : so that I was much surpriz'd at that word *Honour*, which I thought was not used when a third Person was spoken of, but I was soon accustomed to it; in a short time perceiving the difference which was made between a Captain and a Subaltern Officer. It is not but that there are some Officers who treat the Subalterns very civilly, but since there are others who make use of their whole Authority; it is good to be prepared before hand, to shew them the respect that is due to them, by reason of their Commands. Monsieur *de la Cardonniere*, when he was but Commissary General, would never permit any Subaltern Officer to have his Hat on before him, nor that the Captains of his Regiment should sit down, unless he spake to them. I have seen one of the Captains of this Regiment, who was of one of the best Families in *France*, and
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of a haughty humer, be forced to do like the rest. Monsieur *Cardonniere* taking pleasure to use him thus, because he knew him to be a proud Man. In the Foot the Colonels carry it yet much higher than any of the Horse; for it is a Custom establish'd amongst them, that none but the Captains are to sit down before them, the Subalterns always standing in their presence, and most commonly uncovered.

There are some more essential things which a Young-man ought to know, when he goes into the Army; as never to turn his back, let the loss and danger he runs be never so great, for if he be once suspected for Cowardize, he is irrecoverably lost. He had better suffer himself to be taken Prisoner, which is the course all experienced People take in a general rout, there being less dishonour in it, than to run away with the rest. *Bonnet*, one of the

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of the Eldest Captains of Light-horse in the Army, and who succeeded *Lombard* in his Command, after he was kill'd before *Espinal*, told me this with Tears in his Eyes some Months after the Battel of *Taverne*; for they made him responsible for his Regiments not doing their Duty there; and in truth there was orders given before the Fight, to have a more particular Eye upon his Troop than any others, and to disband it in case they fail'd in the least point. The Commissary who was his friend told him of it, and he being mine made no difficulty of speaking to me of it; saying, that all his misfortune was, that when he saw himself abandon'd by his Men, he did not suffer himself to be taken Prisoner. Of all the Officers whose Courage hath been question'd, I know but one alone, who has advantageously recovered his Reputation.

putation. He was Collonel of a Regiment of Foot at the Siege of *Lisle*, and I believe had not yet seen any great Action, so that not being accustomed to Fire, he shewed some weakness in the Trenches. His Father who was a Man of Courage, having heard what had happened, at his return loaded him with Reproaches, and the Son not daring to appear any more before him, took a Palisade the Winter following at the Siege of *Dole*, and would not quit it, till the Army had made it self a passage to go to the storm. This Action was so publick, being done at the Head of all the Commanded Men, that it made the whole Army speak of it, of which the best part applauded his Resolution, and the rest imputed it to his Despair; but in the Wars which have hapned since, this Officer having made appear upon all occasions, as much Resolution

lution as any in the Army; his invidious Enemies have been forced to yield, and he now deservedly passes for a Man as brave as any in the Kingdom.

The things which we may be ignorant of, when we go into the War, without dishonour, are those which are only to be learnt by a long experience; nay sometimes there is an advantage in confessing one knows nothing: for those to whom we make this acknowledgment, will take pleasure to instruct us, to which they think themselves obliged for two reasons: First, to reward us for our Modesty: Secondly, to shew that they know their Trade. I have known an Officer of Horse, who after Twenty years Service, being commanded to blow up a Church, wherein it was said the Enemy intended to Fortifie themselves, ingenuously confessed that this Command puzzled

led him, for that he never having serv'd in the Foot, he knew not how to charge a Mine. For this reason I am of opinion, that a Man who aspires to any great Fortune, must not be ignorant of those things; for if he hopes to be a General Officer, he must instruct himself in the Duty of the Foot, as well as the Horse, and go with them into the Trenches.

There are other occasions wherein it is not dishonourable to ask advice, whensoever one goes into the War: For Example, when the Enemies are to be charged, an Officer may take advice of those with him, giving his own opinion first, to shew that what he does is not out of Ignorance. This produces two good effects: First, it discovers often to him ways of beating the Enemy, which he did not think of: And Secondly, it encourages all those who are with him,

him, seeing he despises none of them.

There are some general Rules which every one ought to know. It would look very ill for a Captain of Horse in a Garison, to dispute the Command with a Captain of Foot; as a Captain of Foot would wrong himself very much to pretend to command a Captain of Horse when they are in the Field. This is a thing establisht by the Kings standing Orders, and which is practised amongst all the Forces of the Kingdom: yet I have known the Marshal *de Schomberg* judge otherwise upon a dispute, which happened between the Baron *d' Ercé* in the Regiment of Horse of the Chevalier *Duc*, the Chevalier *de Montecu* a Captain in the Regiment of Dragoons of *Tessé*, and a Captain of Foot. There was a detachment made of all Three from the Army, to put themselves into

a Castle call'd *le Masdeou*, which is half way between *Perpignan* and *Bellegarde*. The design of Monsieur *Schomberg* was to hinder thereby the Enemy from being Master of it, and to secure the Convoys which came to his Army, which was encamped half a League on this side of *Bellegarde*. Immediately each of these Captains pretended to the chief Command in the Castle, and all Three brought pretty good reasons for it. *D'Ércé* he said, that the Garison being to march out as often as there should come a Convoy from *Perpignan*, the Command belonged to him; for they were to consider that the Marshal *de Schomberg* had sent them thither, only to be a security to the Convoys, and that therefore it could not properly be called a Garison'd place. *Montecu's* answer to this was, that the Castle was inclosed with Walls, and that they being all Three there
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till further Orders, they were to do there as was used to be done, when there happens to be Horse and Foot together in the Town: that he being a Captain of Dragoons, and the Dragoons rowling with the Foot and Horse: he said there could be no doubt made but that he was to Command, because he was an elder Captain than the Captain of Foot; and that the Captain of Horse had no right to Command where either of them was in a place inclos'd with walls. What the Captain of Foot said to exclude the other Two, was that *Montecu's* reasons held good as to the Captain of Horse, but not as to him; for that his being an elder Captain than him, did not conclude any thing for him, for that he must very well know, that it is the Rank of the Regiment which gives the Command, and that that of *Tesse* being after his, it was his right to Command

mand without any Contradiſtion to be made: They could not agree it amongst themſelves, and therefore deſiring it might be regulated, the Marshal *de Schomberg* gave judgment in favour of the Captain of Horſe. The Marshal of *Schomberg* might, if he had pleaſed, have prevented this diſpute, by giving a Commiſſion of Commandant to the Captain of Horſe, before he ſent them into the Caſtle, for then the two others would have had nothing to ſay. Howſoever this hapned, the wrong which was done, was to the Captain of Foot; for it is a general Rule, that the Date of the Commiſſion ſignifies nothing in the Foot. For a Captain in the Regiment of *Picardy*, let his Commiſſion be of never ſo late a Date, commands all other Captains, except thoſe of the Regiment of Guards.

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This was the only time that ever I knew this Order dispensed with; but the Marshal considered that the Garrison of *Mafdeou*, was only for the Convoys; which made him give his opinion as he did. This is a general Rule which a young Man ought to know when he goes into the Army, for he would be laughed at, if being an elder Captain in an younger Regiment, he should expect a younger Captain in an elder Regiment should be commanded by him.

It is not so with the Horse; for when there is a detachment made, the eldest Captain commands, if there be no Major, for a Major commands any Captain. As to Subalterns, it is the same in the Horse, as in the Foot; for their Rank is according to the Antiquity of the Regiment, and not according to the Dates of their Commissions: But all this may be learnt

learnt out of the Regulations the King has establisht, so that it will be superfluous to enlarge upon this Subject.

I said before, that it was the Duty of a Subaltern Officer to shew respect to a Captain. This ought to be understood also of all Officers in general, towards those who are their Superiours in Commands; for we must not take the word in its plain Signification only, for then this Article would only concern Lieutenants, Sub-Lieutenants, Corners, and Ensigns; and all Captains ought to shew great respect to their Majors and Lieutenant Colonels, and these to their Colonels, &c. When I speak here of Majors, I speak of those of Horse; for with us in *France* in the Foot, a Major doth not command a Captain, unless the Date of his Commission be more ancient. To prove that this deference is due from us, to those
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who are superiour in Commands to us, I shall only recite here the Kings Orders in that behalf, by which the Captains are obliged every Night to give an account of the state of their Troops and Companies, to their Majors or Lieutenant Colonels; these to their Colonels; the Colonels to the Brigadiers, and the Brigadiers to the General of the Horse, and to the Commandant of Foot: which shews plainly enough the Subordination, and consequently the respect which every Officer ought to pay to the Person that commands him. A Gentleman therefore must not imagin that so soon as he is a Captain, he may carry it as high as he pleases. I have seen several, whose Commanders have taken pleasure to mortifie them, they having fail'd in this point, and I shall relate here an Example which will shew how dangerous it is for us to fail in our Duty. The

The Baron *de Vannes*, a Gentleman of *Lorain*, and a Man of great Merit and long Service, commanded the Regiment of *Gassion* in 1674. This Regiment being drawn up, *Vannes* gave order to a young Captain to advise the General Officer of something; but he thinking it below the Dignity of a Captain to carry a message, answered him, he might send a Subaltern, if he pleased, it being an employment much fitter for him: the Baron of *Vannes* told him, that it was him he commanded to do it, and not a Subaltern, and that he advised him to go, or else he knew how to make himself be obeyed; the Captain answered again something surlily, which put *Vannes* into a passion, and which came to be so great in them both, that they drew their Pistols, and were just going to give fire upon each other, had not the Officers of the Regiment parted

parted them. *Vannes* seeing this complained to the General, who immediately commanded the Captain to be secured; after which there was a Council of War call'd which was just going to degrade him of his Arms with disgrace, had not a Person of great Authority written to the General on his behalf, which stopt the Course of its Justice; notwithstanding it being a matter of Example, the Captain was forced to desire *Vannes* to intercede for him, which the Council of War expected he should do before he had his Liberty, he being required also by the Council of War to ask his pardon, for what had passed, at the head of the Regiment, which was to be drawn up and at their Arms.

As there are Captains who are sometimes guilty of Passion, there are Colonels who are a little Masters of theirs; so that they

they often insult over the Captains without reason; but I have always observed, that although the whole Army knew them to be in the wrong, all the satisfaction they were ordered to make, was a few excuses to the Persons they had offended. A Colonel, a very brave man, but of a very violent Temper, and who besides hated his Major, and of whom he had endeavoured by all the ways he could to be eas'd, told him one day, being both on Horse-back, that he should turn away a Wench that he kept, because of the ill Example it was to the whole Army; he had reason at the bottom, there being nothing in my opinion so unworthy of a Man of Honour, as to carry along with him such publick Marks of his Vice; but it was not so much the Scandal which made the Colonel speak, as the desire he had to be rid of him; for
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adding many high words to what he then said, he drew his Pistol, and had certainly shot him into the brain, had it not missed to give fire; the Major made his Complaint, but all the satisfaction he receiv'd, was that the Colonel was commanded to abstain for the future from such violent Actions.

We may infer from these two Examples, what difference there is made between a Colonel and a Major, and a Major and a Captain; we ought therefore not to fall into this sort of errour, but yield an implicit obedience, when we are to obey, and command nothing, when it is our right to command, but according to order, and for the Kings service; for excepting in that, the Subalterns may refuse doing what is commanded him; for it is not a Man's having a great Command, which gives them Authority over them; for if they were obli-

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ged to obey them in every thing, as well as in what concerns the Kings service, no Gentleman would serve in the Army.

Not but that I should advise all those who have a design to advance themselves, not to be too scrupulous; the services which we do for a Man of Merit in the Army, are not lookt upon as a servile officiousness; for if they were, the Generals would not have so many People crowd every day to make their court to them. It is sufficient not to shew the same respect indifferently to every body, without distinction; for it would not look well for a Gentleman, to do that to a private Captain of what Quality soever he be, as he would do to a General Officer; or that would look like a meanness of Spirit in him, for the deference he is to pay, is not to Quality, but to Merit; besides, a Captain

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can do nothing toward the making of the Fortune of a Gentleman; whereas a General Officer can effect it, if he will undertake to serve him.

There are many young Gentlemen who go into the Army without having ever seen any thing, and who bring with them out of the Country, a mind puffed up with Pride; for having heard it said that there is nothing above a Gentleman, but a Prince: they think they should do themselves great prejudice to imploy themselves about any thing, but fighting the Enemy. These ought to consider the last remark I made, or at least if they cannot quite rid themselves of this foolish Vanity, let them take care not to confound the Punctilio's with the Kings service. There are a Thousand Commands in War, which seem to be mean and servile, but which a Man can

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not refuse to obey without making himself Criminal: you must fetch Ammunition-Bread if you are commanded, and seek out for Oats, and measure them, and distribute the Wine, and a thousand such things; in which we might commit mistakes, were we not first informed of our Duty, all this being for the Kings service. I have known Princes make up Fascines, and dig in the Trenches, and yet it is not the imployment of a Prince to dig, or to make up Faggots.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Duty of Subaltern Officers to their Captain, and of a Captains behaviour towards them.

I Have said something in the former Chapter, concerning the Obedience, and Respect, which In-

ferior Officers owe to their Captains; but as there are other Duties which belong particularly to them, it is not amiss to speak of them here. An inferior Officer ought to have as much care of his Captains Company, or Troop, as if it was his own. In the Foot there is much less trouble than in the Horse; the care of the Horse being more troublesome than we are apt to think; and in effect there may happen amongst them every hour so many accidents, that too great an exactness cannot be used: Troops of Horse being most commonly lost, only for want of care, it is therefore necessary that the Duty may be well done, that each Corporal of a Troop, do every day see the Horses of his Squadron, that he afterwards inform the Quarter-Master what he has observed, he the Lieutenant, and the Lieutenant the Captain. The

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Quarter-Master ought not to make his report, till he himself has seen the Horses, nor the Lieutenant; for when a Man has seen things himself, he can speak much more confidently of them, than when he speaks after others. When a Troop has marched, the Officers ought not to go into bed, till they have seen all the Horses, especially if they are to march the next Morning, because some of them may be so galled, that if care be not taken, they may be totally disabled. By this means the Horses will have time to recover, and the Troop be always kept in a good Condition. The Subalterns are so far obliged to this Duty, that the Captains may suspend them, if they are found faulty in their Quarters; they ought to go to the place where the Horses are water'd, that they may see them go backward and forward, for they may there much

better perceive whether they are
Lame or not, than in the Stable.
None but the Troopers themselves
ought to be allowed to Ride their
Horses to water, although they
should have Servants, for none
of them are too good to take care of
their Horses. I have seen some
who would give their Horses to
their Landlords, and sometimes
their Daughters to lead them to
Water; but a good Officer will
not allow of this, but take such
good order that they may never
commit the same fault twice. They
ought to have a set time to water
their Horses, and the Officers ought
to be there so as to see them pass
one by one, and if the Horses are
all quartered in the same Stable
as it often happens in their Winter
Quarters, they should have a time
set for them to be drest, and to eat
their Provender; that the Officers
being present, may see the Gentle

men of the Troop do their Duties; for the Proverb says, the Eye of the Master makes the Horse fat. If the Horses are separated, the Officers ought also to separate themselves to view them, and order that their Provender be not given them all together, but so as they may see them eat it: for there are some Horsemen, who are so dishonest, as to sell it, rather than give it their Horses; but if it can be proved upon any, it is Death. Any one of these small Duties, if neglected by a Subaltern, after the Captain has commanded him, is a just ground for him to suspend him. An inferior Officer being in the Camp, ought also to take care that the Riders do not lavish away their Forage, nor be too sparing of it, out of Laziness; for by too much sparing of it, their Horses fall in their flesh for want of Meat, and by being too lavish of it, they spoil

their Horses, by going too often for Forage. I have seen some Captains, and inferior Officers, who would rise in the Night to take care of this; and it cannot be imagin'd what a Reputation they go by it, of being good Officers. This is in short, what is to be said, as to the care which is to be taken of their Horses: But there are other Duties which belong to the Person of the Riders, and which a Subaltern is obliged to take care to make them perform. First, he must make them take care of their Arms, so that they may be always first ready, and in good order, wherefore he ought to view them at least once a week, making them to be brought to him for that purpose. All good Officers do this, and the Captains do not wholly trust to their inferior Officers, but are well pleased to see themselves that there be nothing wanting. This ought especially

especially to be done the next day after a wet days March, for if they did not then take this care, the Arms would be eaten up so with rust, that if there should be a necessity of using them against the Enemy, there could none of them be discharged. The Chevalier *de Fourilles*, would often ask to see the Arms of a Troop, and if he found them in good Condition, he concluded their Officers were good: Boots may also be said to be of the Arms of a Horseman, so that there must be care taken, that there be nothing wanting about them, for it misbecomes a Horseman extremely, to have his Boots without a heel, or unsowed, or want a Spurleather; all which happens but too often for want of a little care. There cannot be too much severity used towards those, whose negligence is the cause of this trouble to their Officers: but whatsoever

ever exactness the Troopers pretend to, one must not rely wholly upon their own words; for it is to be feared sometimes, they will insensibly forget their Duty. An inferior Officer is particularly obliged to take care that the Horsemen keep themselves always cleanly, and neat in their Cloaths; but it is very hard to perform this in the Army, because the Forage dirties extremely their Cloaths, and their Linnen.

Besides these Duties, there are some which respect real service, wherein the inferiour Officer must have a great share of Honesty; for a Subaltern Officer ought to be so, when a Captain leaving to him the care of his Troop, trusts also in him for his own advantages, making him the Master of all; for there are a Thousand things wherein he may cheat him; but he then exposes himself to the greatest of affronts; for if he be discovered,

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he is not only forc'd in order to restitution to sell all his Equipage, but loses his Reputation for ever: So that he must never think more of appearing in the Army, but must go hide his Infamy in the Country, where he will not want also often to have it thrown in his dish. There are several Duties which concern present Service, and of these there are several sorts; but of all inferior Officers, there is required in none more diligence than the Quarter-Master. First, his Duty is, never to go to bed till he has brought the *Word* to his Captain, and if the Captain be not in his Tent, he ought to find him out, or stay for him there till he has acquitted himself of this Duty. He ought to do the same to the Lieutenant and Cornet: and above all, let him take care not to have too great an intimacy with the Lieutenant, unless the Lieutenant be very well with his

his Captain. That the Captain may not suspect they Cabal together against him; and tho the Captain and Lieutenant be very good friends, yet I would advise the Quarter-Master to avoid giving any manner of suspicion to his Captain; for suspicion is easily taken, but difficultly removed: Wherefore I would advise him to manage his ground as well as he can possibly, in all encampings; for if he lets another Captain have a House which belongs to his, his own Captain will have reason to take umbrage at it, and think he endeavours to make his court to another at his loss. The Duty of a Quarter-Master, obliges him to view the Quarters which are assign'd to his Officers upon a March, so that they may not have reason to complain of not being well Lodged, though it be but for a Night; all that he is to do, is to desire the Major, or chief Officer,

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Officer, to take care that they be well Lodged, and to represent to him the inconveniences of the Houses they have already seen; but when they are to remain in Quarters till further orders, he ought to insist upon it much more; and if there be Troops already there, he may demand the making the Billets over again, that some may not be better quartered than others. A Quarter-Master, if he knows his business well, need not be told it by his Captain; so that the Captain may expect to find all things ready at his arrival: but if the chief Officers have quartered the Troops by districts and have left one for them, the Quarter-Master has nothing to say, unless there be such an inequality in them, that the injury which is done to him is apparent; wherefore he ought not to complain till he has seen them all, when he goes to take
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up Quarters with other Quarter Masters, and that they are to be quartered by districts; he must view them all, that they may be equally good, and when he has thus equal'd them with his Camrades, he ought not to suffer them to encroach upon his Quarters, upon any pretence whatsoever. A Quarter-Master, is not an Officer like the Lieutenant and Cornet; that is, I mean he has no Commission from the King, he being made only by the Captain; but when he has been once receiv'd as such, at the head of the Troop; it is no more in the Captains power to put him out, he being only to be cashier'd by the King. It is not the same with the Corporals, a Captain makes them, and turns them out at his pleasure, which makes them the more diligent in their employments.

One cannot speak so certainly of the Duty of a Cornet, as of that of a Quarter-Master; but in my opinion, it is with a Cornet, as with a Voluntier; he is to learn what he can every way. I do not see any fixt employment he has, except that of carrying the Colours, and provided he knows, that he ought never to take them, unless he hath on each hand one of the Troop to guard them: in my opinion he knows all he is obliged to know, as to his particular Office; but he must not neglect the care he ought to have of the Troop, as I have said before. I would have him be so reserved with those of the Troop, that he may not cause a contempt of him: For the Cornets being usually, hot and giddy headed young Gentlemen, it cannot be imagin'd the little value the Troopers have of them, even to the want of all manner of respect towards

towards them ; so that how young soever a Cornet be, he must know how to make himself be valued, and oblige those under him, to pay him the respect they owe ; but this he ought to bring them to, not by severity, but discretion.

As to the Lieutenant, of whom I should have spoken first, to have observed order ; he ought to be fully as knowing as a Captain, their Duties being almost the same ; and he is often sent out upon Parties to Command, and to Command a Guard as a Captain ; and then having no body to advise him, he must have experience, for if he runs into any error on such occasions, it will be ill for him. I have seen some of them committed to the Marshal, for having behaved themselves in Fight like mere Novices : wherefore I would never advise a young Man, at his first step to be a Lieutenant, because they

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they will not have the same indulgence for him, being Lieutenant, as if he were a Cornet; besides, the care of the whole Troop lies upon him, and the Quarter-Master; so that if the Gentlemen of the Troop come once to find out his incapacity, which cannot be avoided, they will neither have esteem nor respect for him: and if so, it were far better for him never to be an Officer, than to be despised in such a manner; and his bad Reputation will be quickly spread through the whole Army: for the common discourse of Soldiers, is of their Officers, whose praises they raise up to the Heavens, if they esteem them; but if they despise them, they are sure to sink them low enough: and indeed if one would be informed of the Conduct of any Officer, it is but putting his own Soldiers upon talking of him, who will quickly tell all they know
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of, good or bad in him, with all the frankness imaginable.

A Lieutenant or a Cornet, of what quality soever he be, ought never to take place of his Captain. I know very well there are some, especially the Cornets, who do honour to their Commands; but I have seen those who were Dukes and Peers follow his rule, and the Captains were forc'd to take them by the hand, if they would have them go before them. Except so Persons of this Quality, the Captains seldom trouble themselves with this Complement, but always take the door before them. However if I should happen to have one of these great Lords for my Cornet, I should hardly take such state upon me, especially if they are civil to me; for these Gentlemen being Cornets only during one Campaign, and then rais'd to greater Commands; it would be great
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indiscretion to use them so, as they might have reason to complain.

When the inferior Officers behave themselves as I have said, to their Captains: the Captains are obliged to use them well, either by treating them civilly, or by sometimes giving them some small Gratification: (for Example :) I never heard an accompt brought to a Captain of a Winter-Quarters, but he has given some present to him that brought it; and the inferior Officer ought not to refuse it, for two Reasons: First, because it is not so much the Captains present, as a share he gives him of the Kings bounty. Secondly, because it is a mark that he is well pleased with him, and he ought to be very glad that he lets him know it.

That which commonly breeds differences, between the Captains and inferior Officers, are matters of Interest; wherefore that they may

may live well together, the inferior Officer on his part, must be just and honest, when he has had the management of any thing left to him; and the Captain on his, ought to let him share with him, in the profits which are due, and not take all to himself; he must give him then what belongs to him, when he has got any thing for Quarters; that is, pay him for the places in Money; in short, do him the same Justice, as he would have done to himself, if he were a Suraltern. If a Captain does otherwise, he must expect that the inferior Officers will endeavour to recompence themselves another way, and if there happen an opportunity of Plundering, they will receive it with open Arms; it appearing the more just to them, he having first shewed them an Example of taking the goods of other Men. From hence arise the disturbances

bances and discontents, which always end in the dishonour of both; for when things come to be cleared, and that it is known what it was that made the quarrel, it will be equally shameful for them both; that a small advantage should be capable of destroying the friendship, which ought to be between them. But notwithstanding any misunderstanding between a Captain and a Subaltern, the latter ought not to neglect the care of his Troop; for he would deserve to be severely reprehended, if he did not endeavour to keep the Troop in good Condition, and not in spite to his Captain, prejudice the Kings service, which he ought to separate from his interests of whom he thinks he has reason to complain; and considering this, he ought to do every thing, as if they were the best friends in the World. If he behaves himself thus, it can hardly

hardly be believed what Reputation he will get by it; for the more it is known, he has reason to complain, the more will he be commended for doing his Duty so well notwithstanding.

CHAP. VII.

Of the implicate Obedience we owe to our superiour Officers.

I Have said before, that those who have right to Command us are to be implicitly obeyed; but since I did not then say, even where we know they are in the wrong: I shall prove it in this Chapter, by an Example furnish'd me by a brave Man, who for this was forc'd to leave the service, not to say put out of it.

Monsieur de Pillon, at the Battle of *Entzeim*, was a Brigadier of Horse; and reputed to understand his

his business, as well as any Officer in the Army; he had not yet charged, but stood firm, expecting six great Squadrons of the Enemies, which he designed to charge in the Flank. When Monsieur *de Vaubrun* came to tell him it was time to charge; *Pillois*, who was of a contrary opinion, replied, he intended to fight the six Squadrons, when they had passed the Ditch; and that therefore he would not march till they came near it; but Monsieur *Vaubrun*, thinking he was bound in honour to see himself obeyed; commanded the Regiment of *Pillois*, at the head of which, this Brigadier was, to march; and *Pillois* thinking it would make him lose a fair opportunity, commanded his Regiment to halt; and having more power with them than Monsieur *Vaubrun*, did not advance till he saw the Enemy near the Ditch. Experience made it appear to Monsieur

sieur *Vaubrun*, that *Pillois* was in the right, he having overthrown them one upon another; but Monsieur *Vaubrun* having complained of it to Monsieur *Turen* after the Battel; *Pillois* receiv'd a severe reprimand, and if that General had not lov'd not to ruine People, he had written of it immediately to Court: but Monsieur *de Vaubrun* had not so much goodness for him, for not being contented with the satisfaction which was made to him by the Generals order, he made him quit the service in a short time after.

If when we think we are most in the right, we must however yield an implicate obedience, much more are we obliged to obey, when we are commanded nothing but what is certainly for the Kings service. But I do not forbid examining the commands which are given us; for if a Man has a design to betray his Prince, and commands us to
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put our selves into the hands of the Enemy; it would be well done not to obey him: but it is necessary to be well assured of what one does; for without that, one is responsible for the disobedience. Excepting in this one case only, I would not advise any one to refuse to obey his Commander, although I once saw a Lieutenant rewarded for doing it: He had been detach'd with a Captain, to make good some Pioneers, who were at work in mending the ways; as this Captain and Lieutenant were at the head of their Troop, they discover'd about a hundred Horse of the Enemy, which came to charge them, they not being by one half so strong, which terrified the Captain, and made him immediately resolve upon a Retreat, and command his Men to do so; but the Lieutenant not approving of his wariness, told him he had no mind to run away;

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and when he saw he could not
perswade him, he commanded the
Troop to follow, and to march
toward the Enemy; the Men cheer-
fully obeyed, and Fortune having
seconded his Courage, he routed
the Enemy, and far from being
reproved for his disobedience, the
Troop was given to him, and the
Captain cashier'd with shame.

It is true, this is an Example
which justifies that we may some-
times dispence with obedience
where a refusal is grounded upon
the Cowardize of the Commander
but I look upon this as a verry nice
point: for if a Man happens to
be beaten, it is to be feared the
Commander will pass for a Pro-
dent, and he for a rash Man. Suc-
cess often justifies things, for he
is often esteemed, after having gain-
ed an advantage, who would have
been despised if he had been beaten.
However, I do not say that an Obedient

cer who knows the weakness of his Commander should not imitate the Lieutenant I have spoken of: but before hand, he must consider a great many things. First, the number of the Enemies he has to deal with, that he may not undertake a thing above his strength, for though one may leave a great deal to luck; yet one ought not to expose ones self like a mad Man to an apparent defeat. Secondly, if the post which he is intrusted with be of great importance, and that the loss of it will draw after it any ill consequences, one ought to hazard much more to keep it than otherwise.

I think also, that an Officer happening to be in a besieged place, where the Governour desires to Surrender, may refuse to sign the Capitulation, if he thinks it dishonourable; but this is different from what I have before related,

and it is not then disobedience; for the place belonging no more to the King, by reason of the Capitulation signed by the Governor; it is lawful for every one to prove, or disapprove of what the Governor has done, especially since there is a Punishment inflicted upon those who refuse to sign the Capitulation, they being made Prisoners of War by the Enemy; but I had much rather venture my Liberty, than be said to have done a dishonourable thing. The Marshal *de Schomberg*, commended very much a Captain of Foot, whose Name I have forgotten; who refused to sign the shameful Capitulation for the surrender of *Bellguard*, which was made in the year 1674.

CH A P. VIII.

*Of the Punishments inflicted upon those
who refuse to obey their Officers.*

AFTER having told the necessity there is of obeying ones Officers; it will not be amiss to speak a word of the Punishment, which is ordained for those that offend. As to private Soldiers, either in Horse or Foot; it is a capital Crime which is sometimes punished with Death, sometimes with degrading them from ever bearing Arms, and sometimes the loss of a Hand, as the case requires. (For Example :) any private Soldier, who draws his Sword against his Officer, is to have the Hand which offended cut off, and is to be degraded at the same time from bearing Arms, and sent home thus maimed and mise-

nable: and this is the reason that we see so many with but one Hand, which moves pitty in those that know not the reason for which they lost it. They are also sometimes punished with Death for the same Crime, but that is when they have either kill'd or hurt their Officers; otherwise they have only one Hand cut off. They are always degraded from their Arms when they Mutiny, but if the sedition be great, and prove of dangerous consequence, they can expect no mercy; for the Council of War then always condemns them to Death. There must be seven to judge a Soldier, besides the Major of the Regiment, who acts there in the nature of an Attorney General; none below the degree of a Captain can have a Voice, but all above. The President of the Council of War signs the Sentence, and when it is signed, it is carried to the General.

of the Horse, if he be of the Horse ; or to the Commandant of Foot, if he be a Foot-Soldier , to know if they have any objections to make to it. That is to say, when they are in the Army, where there is a General of Horse, and a Commandant of Foot. I never knew any act of injustice done at a Council of War but once, but then it concerned all the Officers of the Army ; which made them sacrifice a poor unfortunate fellow, but it did not touch his Life. A Regiment had very good Winter-Quarters, and had got a great deal of Money for spar'd Quarters, as well for those of the private Soldiers, as of the Officers. The first demanded a share in the profit of them, from the Officers with Submission; but seeing they were laughed at by them for it, they mutyned; and one of them undertook to complain on their behalfs to the General,

ral, that he might do them Justice; and as soon as they were come to the Army, he went to the Generals Tent with that design; where his Colonel unfortunately for him, met him, and cunningly perswaded him to go along with him, promising to give him content: but, no sooner were they got a Hundred yards from the Head-quarters, but he had him secured, and carried to his Colours, where making his complaint against him to a Council of War, he was condemned as a Seditious fellow, and a Tale-bearer, to be degraded from his Arms, and to be Imprison'd for Eighteen Months.

This was the only time as I have said, that I ever saw a Council of War fail of doing upright Justice; but all the Officers of the Army would have been subject to have made Restitution, had there been any Countenance given to the Com-
plaints

plaints of this Trooper, which was the reason they all solicited against him; that his Punishment might impose silence upon the rest, upon all other occasions. I have always seen Justice as well administered by a Council of War, as by the best civil Judges. The Articles of War are read to the accused Person, and he is asked, if he was not informed of them before he committed the Crime, and then they judge him. The rigour of the Articles may in some cases be moderated: as I once saw it done towards a deserter from his Colours, because he made it appear they had forced him to march, which had they not done, he had never come into the Army. I have known the Councils of War exercise great severity; and amongst others, one of the Kings Life-Guard, for having deserted, was Condemned to be Caned to Death.

Death. This was for Example sake to all the Guards, that the fear of infamy might keep them within their Duty. This Guard was not taken, but his Effigies was sent to all the Provost Marshals, with order to endeavour to take him, and if they did, to Execute this Sentence upon him. Heretofore Officers had power of Life and Death over the Soldiers, for any cause whatsoever; and it is but within these Fifteen or Sixteen years, that the civil Magistrate has taken Cognizance of Robberies, or any other Crimes, which respect the Publick; but at present by the Article which gives this power to them, the King has declared he did not intend to infringe the Privileges granted by him to the foreign Forces under his pay; so that they are yet judged by their own Officers for any crime whatsoever; but this does not make the Crime

nals come off at an easier rate, for the Council of War is as severe as the civil Magistrate; and especially among the *Switzers*, of which I shall here give you an Example, having been an Eye-witness of it my self. In 1673. as I remember, there was a Regiment of *Switzers* engarison'd at *Aeth*: a Soldier of this Regiment walking out of the Town, and meeting with a Mâid in the Fields ravisht her, and came back in the Evening, as unconcerned as if he had not committed so horrid an Action. The young Woman all in Tears ran home to her Fathers house, to whom she made a lamentable Relation of what had hapned to her. The Father afflicted to the greatest degree imaginable, immediately came to *Aeth*; and desiring a private Audience of Monsieur *Nancré*, who was then Governor there, informed him of the violence which the Soldier had used

used to his Daughter ; and desired Justice might be done upon the Soldier. Monsieur *Nancré* sent immediately for the Commandant of the Regiment, and having told him, he expected he should find out the Soldier ; he commanded him to draw up the next Morning his Regiment in Batalia, upon pretence of a review, and leading himself, the Girl from rank to rank, till she had found out the Criminal, whom he seized, and deliver'd into the hands of his Officers to do Justice upon him. A Council of War was immediately call'd by them, and having interrogated the Criminal, who was quickly convicted, of what he was accused of; they sentenc'd him to be Buried alive to the middle, his two Hands tied behind him, and that the Woman to revenge her self, should stab him to Death with a Dagger. So soon as the Sentence was given, the *Swit-*

zers carried it to Monsieur Nancre, to know if he were satisfied with their Justice, which besides his thinking to be extremely severe, the injured Woman would not execute the Sentence; so that they were forc'd to moderate the severity of it, and to change the manner of Execution, condemning him to be hang'd; a Punishment looked upon amongst them, as the most infamous of all others: at the executing the Criminal, the Gibbet fell down, which made all the People cry out for Pardon, thinking this accident did not fall out for nothing. But the *Switzer's* Officers whose Regiment was then drawn up, being not willing to allow a Crime of this nature to go unpunisht, commanded the Executioner to finish his Work, who because, it would have required too much time to set up a new Gibbet, knockt a great Nail into the head of
of

of the wooden Horse, and there
fulfill'd the Sentence.

But not to make a longer digression: it is fit to inform you, that Martial Law is as severe against Officers, who fail in their respect to their Commanders, as against the common Soldiers. But if it be wonder'd at, that there are fewer put to Death of one sort than of the other; the reason of it is easily to be given, for the Officers are not so much given to Drink as the Soldiers; and without that they would not commit so many disorders. For it is a sign, that it is only Debauchery which spoils them, since in the Army we scarce hear of their follies, they not having every thing in great plenty there; but so soon as they are in their Winter-Quarters, is very hard to keep them in good order. It is not without Example that Officers have been put to Death for
dis-

disobedience. Those that mutinied in *Treves* against the Marshal of *Grequi*, were for that Crime condemned to die. Sometimes they are degraded from their Arms, when they fail in their respect to their Superiors, or break the Articles of War. He of the Kings Horse-Guards, who sent a written challenge to the Duke of *Duras*, was sentenced to undergo this infamy, not for having designed a Duel, for that would have been Death by the Law, but for having dared to challenge his General; but he has since been restored, and made Lieutenant to *Montecu*, in *Tesses* Regiment of Dragoons. These sorts of Punishments are seldom Executed upon Officers, because it is to be presumed they do not deserve them, but upon the least complaint made against them, the King cashier them. The Captain has power also to suspend the inferior.

rior Officers, as I have said before, if they disobey him in the least thing. And this is done without much ado; for 'tis but commanding his Men not to obey the Officer he has suspended, and this is of such a force, that it is not in the Generals power to take off the suspension; and he that is suspended must seek his remedy at Court, for none but the King can restore him to his Command. I have seen many Examples of this; amongst others, in the case of a Gentleman, whose Name was *Crevecœur* of the House of *Gouffier*; for all the interest which could be made by his Relations and Friends could not prevail, and he was forc'd to come to Court, where he receiv'd as little satisfaction; for his Captain having acquainted the King of his evil behavior; the King commanded him to quit the service; but this cost the Captain his Life: for *Crevecœur* having some
short

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short time afterward met him upon *Pontneuf* at *Paris*, made him draw his Sword, and after a pass or two, kill'd him upon the place.

I have spoken of the degrading of Officers and Soldiers; but I have not yet spoken of the formality of doing it. First they must be Judged at the Council of War; after which, the Criminal is brought to the head of the Regiment, who are at their Arms; the Criminal has his Hat upon his head, and his Sword by his side; but so tied, that if he would, he cannot draw it; and the Sentence is then read to him, and when they come to mention his Condemnation, they throw his Hat upon the ground, and take off his Sword, not over his head, but pull the belt under his Feet; which when done, they give him three blows on the breech, and so the Ceremony ends.

I shall finish this Chapter with an Example which I saw happen in the Kings Guards, and a proof Authentick enough of the deference we ought to pay to our Superiors. A Gentleman near *Gournai* in *Normandy*, having a charge of many Children, sent Two of them to serve in the Kings Guards, and recommended them to *Monfieur de Ligneri*, who was then exempt, and is now Lieutenant of the Guards *du Corps*. *Monfieur Ligneri's* Father was a friend to this Gentleman, so that *Monfieur Ligneri* receiv'd them very kindly, and having presented them to the Captain of the Guards, they had the Belt given to them. Sometime after this *Ligneri's* Father had some difference with their Father about their sports, and he having informed his Sons of it, they began to use *Ligneri* as if he was their equal; and being engarison'd near *Paris*, one of them

passed

passed by Monsieur *Ligneri* without putting off his Hat to him, which made him run to him, and throw his Hat upon the ground, advising him not to be so unmindful of his Duty any more. Altho he was proud in his nature, yet he durst say nothing then of it, there being many of his Camrades then in the street; but keeping a resentment of it in his mind, in a short time after he desired leave to quit the Service, that he might be in a condition to revenge himself; but his design being suspected, it was proposed to call him before a Council of War; and if *Ligneri* had not interceded for him, he had run the hazard of being made an Example to all the Kings Guards: but not growing the wiser for this, he set upon *Ligneri* towards the *Rue St. Honore*, being both on Horseback, and wounded him with a Pistol-shot. The King being informed

formed of the matter, sent immediately to the Lieutenant Criminal to proceed against him with the utmost severity, and to have him taken, if it were possible: but he hearing how the King was incens'd against him, fled immediately into *England*. But this did not at all hinder the Lieutenant Criminal from proceeding against him, and sentencing him to be broken upon the Wheel alive, which was Executed upon him in *Effgie*. And his Brother being suspected to have had a hand in what he had done, was committed to Prison, where he died for Grief, with seeing his Family so much disgraced.

CHAP. IX.

That an Officer must behave himself respectfully in the Generals Quarters, and not shew any passion there.

THE Example which I have brought in speaking of *Lig-neri*, makes it plainly appear how dangerous it is, to shew a want of respect towards superior Officers. But I shall go further in this Chapter, and shew that we are obliged to behave our selves with respect in their Quarters, although they are absent. When I first came into the Army, I could not bring my self to think that such caution was to be used any where, but in the houses of the King and the Princes of the Blood: But I was soon undeceiv'd, for I saw so many

many punished for having given way with me to this error, that I resolved to leave it. The first Example which taught me my Duty was that of a Captain in the Regiment of *St. Lieu*, who being at play in his Colonels Quarters, in the haste he was to take up the Money he had won; he threw a great Candlestick against the Looking-glass, which broke it all to pieces. Monsieur *St. Lieu* came upon this, and asked him where he thought he was, and he answering furlily, that if he was so concerned for his Glass, he was very willing to pay him for it, anger'd Monsieur *St. Lieu* so much, that the Captain was forc'd to keep Prison for a Fortnight.

St. Symon, a Colonel of Horse of the same Family, a brave Man and of great Reputation in the Army, being at Monsieur *de Montbron's* in the Hall, with many other Officers,

Officers, took a fancy that *Brusart* a Colonel of Dragoons, who was at the other end of the Hall spoke ill of him, which provoked him to use several threats to him. *Brusart*, who was not at all inferior to him either in Courage, or it may be in hastiness of Temper; immediately put himself into a posture to shew that he did not fear him, and had not there been other Officers that hinder'd them from proceeding further, they would have endeavour'd to kill each other there. The noise which that made, having made Monsieur *Montbron* come out of his Closet, each of them would have pleaded for himself; but refusing to hear either, he sent them both to Prison, telling them, that when he had punished them for the fault they had committed, in quarrelling in his House, he would examin which of them was wronged, that he might do him Justice.

Justice. An Officer therefore, must have the discretion to know when he is, and if he has the Ambition to hope to rise to something, he will not be troubled to shew that respect to others; which he will be sure to expect to have paid to him when he is in their places. It is not but that there are some unfortunate Circumstances, where in a Gentleman must needs be very much perplexed what to do; that is, when it happens that another puts an affront upon him, or talks of him to his prejudice. *Busca*, who is at present Lieutenant of the *Guards du Corps*, drew his Sword in the Kings house, and wounded his Officer, who had given him a box on the Ear. It is true, he was forc'd to take his sanctuary in *England*, where he remained for some time, but being at last recalled from his Banishment, notwithstanding the fault he had committed,

red,

ted, he was prefer'd to very great
 Commands. This shews us that
 sometimes we may swerve from the
 Rules. But I should never advise
 any one to take Example by it,
 since if we should even receive an
 affront from any one, the King has
 sufficiently provided by his Edicts,
 for the reparation of our Honour.
 I know very well that it is very
 hard to bear an injury, and that
 our nature inclines us to resist vio-
 lence with violence; but when we
 consider that it is the Kings plea-
 sure, and that besides it does not
 in the least touch our Honour, I
 cannot see why there should be so
 great a difficulty made of obeying.
 A Lieutenant in the Foot-Guards,
 whose name ought to be known to
 all posterity; in this shew'd a great
 Example of Wisdom: he had been
 sent to engarison to *Lisle*, soon after
 the taking of that place, and as he
 marched through the Town at the
 F head

head of his Company he made halt, and wanting a Pen with Ink to give some orders to a Serjeant he went into a Bakers shop, to whom he civilly asked one, but this Brute beyond all imagination; answer'd him insolently, that if he had one, he would not let him have it; and the Lieutenant endeavouring to make him see his error in talking thus to him, the Baker gave him a box on the Ear which insolence was no sooner perceived by the Soldiers, but those who had Halberts were going to run him through, and the Musketers who were within shot were making ready to fire upon him; but the Lieutenant considering, he was in a Town newly surrender'd, and where the King had commanded the Garison to be kind to the Inhabitants, hinder'd the Soldiers from doing any thing to him; and commanding them

the same time to march; he staid at the door of the shop till the whole Company was filed off, to hinder those in the Rere from doing him any mischief, which might have hapned had he been in the Front. The King was soon inform'd of this action, which he approved so well of, that he gave him the first Company in the Guards that fell. We may therefore very well conclude, that 'tis the surest way for us to do what we ought; and since our Duty obliges us to contain our selves, ought we not to use all our endeavours, that none may have reason to complain of us. But to come back to my Subject: I say then, we ought above all things, to behave our selves discretely in our Generals houses; for besides the example which I have already given, I could bring a great many more if there were need. The

same respect is required in the head Quarters, which is properly the General's house, which puts me in mind of a thing, which I saw happen in 1676. The Marquess of *Rivarolles*, having won five hundred Crowns from the Marquess of *Fenquieres*, and he not being willing to pay it, he went to his Tent which was near that of the Duke of *Luxembourg* General of the Army, where after having made a great noise, he was going to have led away his Horses. The Duke of *Luxembourg* being informed of the disorder; Commanded the Marquess of *Rivarolles* to be brought before him; and after having asked him, whether he did not know these were the Head-quarters, and consequently the Kings: the Marquess answer'd, he knew it very well; but to teach you again another time, replied the Duke of *Luxembourg*, that the Kings Quar-

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ters in the Army, is a place as sacred as the *Louvre*: I must send you to Prison, and immediately did so, and when he had thus punished him for his fault, he examined the matter, and forc'd the the *Marquess de Feuquières* to pay him the Money.

CHAP. X.

Of the severity of Martial Law, and the Punishments incurr'd by those that transgress it.

THERE are many motives which induce Men to follow the profession of Arms; great Men engage in it, only to gain Honour; for being born in plenty, they have nothing left them to wish for, but Reputation: but as for others, who have not so much reason to thank Fortune, they seek

to advance themselves by it; the hope of which, if taken away, they would be better Husbands of their Lives. Whether the motive which induces some, be the more noble than that which induces others, to take upon them this profession, I cannot determine; but they are all of them notwithstanding worthy of praise, for they all walk in the path of Vertue; and both these sorts of Persons are very useful for the service of the State, they spending their Blood for the Honour of it. But there are others, who instead of seeking to make their Fortune by ways that are Honourable, use all manner of ways to enrich themselves, which makes them commit rapin every where; and after having sucked the Blood of the People in Garisons, they endeavour also to rob the King, when they are in the Army, filling their Companies with

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Faggots, upon the days of Muster; by which means a General is de-coiv'd when he is to give battel, and finds his Army much weaker than he expected. In all times there were very severe Laws against these Faggots, and against the Captains who suffer'd them in their Companies; but the intelligence which always was between the Commis-saries and the Captains, made them useless. This abuse had taken so deep a Root, that it requir'd the Kings whole Authority, and Monsieur *Louvoy's* vigilance, to remove it. His Majesty, made new Or-dinances against these Faggots; and that they might be restrain'd from this, out of the fear of the Infamy which attended it; he commanded that they should be burnt in the Cheek with the Flower-de luce, and the Captains, who commanded them, should be cashier'd without mercy. And these Orders are now

ecuted with the utmost severity, he must have lost all manner of Judgment, who for the lucre of the pay of two or three Soldiers will venter the loss of his Honour and his Fortune: For let one but consider well, and it is not difficult to comprehend, that one cannot long use this Trade, without being taken in the Fact. A Man who has been guilty of committing an ill Action, and knows that his crime is known to another, never sleeps out of the fear of being accused by him: How then can a Man live at rest, having many Witnesses against him as Soldiers in his Company? Does he not know, that there is not one of them but he may mistrust, and that to have liberty to go home, and the reward which the King gives to the discoverers, there will be some one or other found to accuse him when he thinks least of it? But

a Captain had nothing of this kind to fear, for which he has reason enough; methinks the fear of passing for a bad Officer, should oblige him to keep his Company full, and he must not flatter himself so, as to think he can hide his cheat long, although he should have good luck in the Muster. For when an Army marches, what hinders a General from perceiving the thinness of a Company, there being many occasions for making a stop, to see it file off. Then there are no Faggots to be shewn to him, and what excuse can he then make, when he is taken notice of; really I cannot imagin how an Officer can have so little Honour, as to enrich himself by such base ways. There are others which are more Honourable, and a Man of sense will never advise him to take those whereby, there is more loss than gain: besides I have seen

so many accidents happen occasion'd by this, that there cannot be too much care taken to avoid it; if I would, I could bring a thousand Examples to prove what I have said, but I shall content my self with two; which will be enough to shew that nobody can escape the severity of these Orders. After the Campaign of *Mastricht*, the Commissary Regiment having been sent into Garrison at *Lisle*: the Quarter-Master of the Colonels Troop, thought to please Monsieur *de la Cardonnier*, who was Colonel of the Regiment, in making his Troop appear as full as he could. So that at the first Muster, he took Three of his Servants and placed them in the Ranks. A Trooper of the same Troop, who had waited a long time for such an opportunity, to obtain his dismissal, immediately discovers them to the Commissary; and the Ser-

vants

vants not being able to deny it, were sent to Prison: The Commissary immediately wrote of it to Court, and receiv'd an order from the King, to enquire if Monsieur *de la Cardonniere* had contributed towards what was done; and in case he had, to give an account of it without delay. Monsieur *de la Cardonniere* was not then happily for him at *Lisle*, so that it was not difficult for him to make it appear, it was done without his participation; but yet notwithstanding he durst not speak in his Quarter-Master's behalf, nor endeavour to get a Pardon for his Servants. But the first was cashier'd after a long Imprisonment, and the others were burnt in the Cheek, although Monsieur *de la Cardonniere* under hand, made all his friends bestir themselves to save them.

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The Example following, happened also to an Officer of Quality, which has something in it so strange, that I doubt not but it will surprize every body. Monsieur *Lucinge* a Brigadier of Horse, and Colonel of the Royal Regiment of *Piemont* was in Garrison at *Doway*, where a Trooper of his Regiment in a Muster, which was made of it at the Gates of the City; came out of his Rank to discover a Faggot, which was in *Grimaldi's* Troop. The Commissary, who was a friend to Monsieur *Lucinge* and *Grimaldi*, being glad to oblige them both, pretended not to hear him, and thereby gave time to the Quarter-Master of the Troop, to withdraw the Faggot from the Ranks, and to put him in the rear of the Squadron which was allowable; for informing the Commissary that he was a Servant who did duty like the rest of the Troop.

Troop, he might pass him if he pleased, if not, it was of no consequence. The discoverer still pursued the Commissary to make him turn about, and he thinking by this time *Grimaldi* had had time enough to withdraw his Servant from the Ranks; told the discoverer, who demanded from him his dismissal, and the 100 Crowns for reward of his discovery, that if he would shew him the Person he accused, he would presently do him Justice; upon which the Trooper would have conducted the Commissary to the place where he had left the Faggot: but his confusion was extream, when he found they had withdrawn him from their Ranks, and put him where the Servants are placed, who are in hopes to be allowed to pass Muster. He would have said something for his Justification, but the Commissary being the first to load him

him with Reproaches, put it in the heads of the Captains of the Regiments, to use him after the cruel manner they did afterwards, that all others might take Example by him. They therefore gave orders to *Grimaldi's* Quarter-Master, and some others of his Troop, in whom they most confided to take him out of the Ranks as soon as the Muster was done, and put him into such a condition as to make him remember that days Work as long as he liv'd. Monsieur *Lucinge* gave his helping hand to the inflicting of this punishment, so that when the Regiment began to file off; the Quarter-Master to perform what was given him in charge, made him come out of the Ranks, and having made him alight, cut off one of his Ears, after having beaten him with a Cane most unmercifully. This poor wretch fled to *Arras*, were he had his wounds dress'd;

dress; and having related his misfortune to some of the Horsemen of the Garison, some of them advised him to go and cast himself at the Kings feet, and to bear his Charges for the Journy, they made up a Purse of a Pistol and gave him. Being come to *St. Germans*, he took so well his opportunity, that he got to speak with the King; and after having told him, that he had been a long time in his service, he related to him his misfortune; but the King would make him no promise, till he had first informed himself, whether the thing had hapned as he informed, wherefore he gave orders to *Monsieur de Louvois*, to write immediately about it; and in the mean while to provide a subsistence for the Trooper, that his poverty might not force him to return too soon home. *Monsieur de Louvois* having performed what the King had Comman-

ded.

ded him, and having heard from good hands, that he had neither augmented nor diminished the truth in the Relation he had made; made his Report to the King, who immediately gave orders that a Council of War should be call'd, which he commanded to shew no favour to Monsieur *Lucinge*, nor any body else, but to do this unhappy Man all the Justice which he could expect from Men of Honour. The Council of War being assembled, proceeded according to the Kings directions, and after having considered maturely of every thing, they agreed upon this Sentence, viz. That the Quarter-Master, who had cut off the Troopers Ear, should be sent to the Gallies; and the Captains of the Regiments to pay the injur'd Person 600 Livers, and besides this, to conduct him in safety, and at their charge
into

into *Piemont*, and to answer body for body for his Person, till they had brought him home into his own house. The King approved of this Sentence, and to shew all his Army, what was the Duty of all his Colonels, he sent back Monsieur *Lucinge* into *Piemont*, and his Regiment was given to another.

If I had not said, I would content my self with giving these two Examples, to prove what I have said: I would instance two that lately hapned; one at *Calice*, and the other at *Dunkirk*; but since my word is engaged, and that besides, these are enough to inform us. I should only say by the by, that if *Mendosa*, who commanded a Batalion of the Regiment of *Normandy*, had thought of what he did, he had not lost the reward which he might have expected for 20 years Service; and
that

that *Hofman* the Commissary would not have been condemned to the Pillory; had he not been convicted of betraying his Trust. *S. L.* and *Ardican*, would have been yet at *Calice*; the one Town Major, and the other Aid Major; if for something which was not worth their while, they had not caused themselves to be cashier'd. The Correspondence which they had with some of the Captains of the *Switzers*, by giving them when they were muster'd, Certificates of the Detachments, which they had made of some Soldiers of their Company which were false, and which they did only to share with the Captains in those unjust gains, was the occasion of their disgrace.

I shall speak also in this Chapter of the Orders which Generals make when they are in the Army, and the strictness with which they cause them to be observed. They
give

give notice when they are to be published: After which, each Aid Major informs his Regiment of them, that they may be observed by them. There is no less danger in breaking these Orders, than those established by the King. Nay, it may be said, that the Justice done upon the offenders against these is much more quick and severe, for without calling a Council of War to judge the Offender; in this case he is immediately hang'd up upon the place. These Orders are made upon many different occasions: (For Example:) Not to plunder in a Country, which pays Contribution, not to rob those that bring Provision into the Camp, not to set Fire to any place, and sometimes not to pass beyond the Out-Guards: It being a Crime punish'd with Death, not to observe these Orders, when once a General has made them. I have seen exemplary

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plary Punishments, inflicted in
cases wherein one would think so
much rigour ought not to be used.
When Monsieur Schomberg com-
manded the Army in *Catalonia*,
they were two days without ha-
ving any Bread, which made them
all sadly complain. The General
fearing therefore, that this want
would force them to some violence,
published an Order, forbidding
thereby, any to plunder in any
place, upon pain of Death, which
kept the greater part in good order.
But yet notwithstanding, a Ser-
jeant in the Colonels Troop of
Dragoons, in the Regiment of *Tessé*,
not being able to resist his hunger;
found a flock of Sheep in a conve-
nient place, and thinking he should
not be discover'd, took one of them;
but returning back to the Camp,
he met by misfortune Monsieur
Schomberg, who seeing a Sheep be-
hind him, ordered immediately the
Ex-

Executioner to be sent for, and that he should be hang'd upon the first Tree. Monsieur Tessé, who was an intimate Friend of Monsieur Schomberg's, being informed of what had hapned, run immediate-ly to Monsieur Schomberg to beg of him the Dragoons Life, representing to him, that he had a particular concern for him, without which, he would not use so much importunity, for that he had even forc'd him to come into the Army; after having taken him out of the Arms of his Wife, and that his Mother would never Pardon him, if he did not use all his endeavours to rescue him from the danger he was in, and that he would give the owner of the Sheep 100 Pistols; and altho it would be somewhat dearly bought, yet he should own a particular Obligation to him, if he would take it. Monsieur Schomberg hearkned to what the Count de Tessé

Tessé said, with a great deal of coolness, but answer'd him more coolly; that he was sorry he could not grant what he requested, he being resolved his Orders should be punctually observed, and without hearing him any more the Dragoon was hang'd upon the next Tree.

In the *Holland Campaign*, the Count *de Chamilli*, a Lieutenant General, and a Man extremely exact; Commanded a Body near *Mastricht*, he having publish'd an order for the security of those who brought Provisions to the Camp; a private Soldier notwithstanding his order, stop'd a Peasant who had Bread in a basket, and took out of it a Loaf, which might be worth about Two-pence, and came back to his Regiment; and meeting with his Comrade, who was as hungry as himself, he gave him one half of it, telling him how he had got it.

Whilst

Whilst they were discoursing, the Peasant came where the two Soldiers were, and knowing the Thief, he went up to him, and desired the Officers he might be secured, and Justice done to him. The Officers who fear'd the consequence of this, if it should come to Monsieur Chamilli's Ear, offer'd the Peasant a shilling for his Bread, which was six times as much as it was worth; but the Peasant rudely refus'd their Offers, and went immediately to Monsieur Chamilli's Tent, and made his complaint. The General took the trouble to come himself to the Regiment, and forc'd the Officers who had hidden the Two Soldiers, to put them into his hands; and making them draw Lots, although there seem'd but one to be Guilty, and the Lot falling upon the most innocent, he was immediately hang'd. Monsieur Chamilli, not hearkening to any thing that could be

be said in his Justification. Once relating this affair to the Prince of Conde, (he after having disapproved of this Action as being full of cruelty,) he did me the honour to tell me, he once found himself under some difficulty upon such an occasion, The case was this: A Soldier who was found without the Out-Guards, after an Order was published to the contrary, made some proof to him, that he was there whilst the Order was publishing, and therefore could not know of it. The Prince told me that not to put an innocent Man to Death, nor to give ill Example to the Soldiers; who would be brought to think that if an Example were not made, they might break such General Orders with impunity; he ordered the Soldier to be hang'd in the dusk of the Evening, with a Rope under his Arms, but not about his Neck;

Neck, and when it was quite dark, he was taken down, and ordered never to appear any more in the Army. It is thus in my opinion, that Justice and Discipline ought to be joyned; for to think that, because we are not to give an account of our Actions to any body, we may do any thing, is to load our selves to no purpose with guilt and envy.

The Officers themselves are not exempted from punishment, when they break the Orders made by their General. The Marshal of *Rochfort*, having forbid the passing beyond the Out-sentinel of the Camp, sent the Provost Marshal with his Men, to hover about the Camp, with Orders to take all they should find beyond the Out-sentinels; amongst the Prisoners which he took, there hapned to be a Lieutenant of Foot; who having a Horse that was sick, went to put

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him

him to Grass in a Meadow; but Monsieur *Rockfort* not being satisfied with his excuse, ordered the Provost to keep him still in Custody, and a Council of War being call'd, the Lieutenant was cashier'd and degraded from his Arms.

Sometime after this, there happened a like accident to a Colonel of Foot, whose haughtiness cost him dear; for thinking that Men in such Command as he was, were not bound to follow so exactly the letter of the Law; he undertook to force through a Captains Troop who was upon the Guard, and endeavoured to make him observe the Generals Orders; drawing his Pistol at him: the Captain on his side put himself into a posture of defence, but the fortune of Arms being against him, he was kill'd upon the place. This affair made a great noise in the Army, and the King not being willing a thing

this consequence should remain unpunished, order'd a Council of War to be call'd, which would have Sentenced the Colonel to Death; had not his Relations pleaded, that the cause of his committing this Action, was to be attributed to Drink, which made them have some compassion for him; but yet notwithstanding he was cashier'd, and was also forc'd to pay 10000 Crowns to the Captains Widow.

So that the difference which I have seen made between an Officer and a common Soldier for transgressing a Generals Orders; is, that the one is punish'd with Death, and the other is turned out of his Command. It is not but that I am perswaded a General may act more severely if he pleases; but he commonly does not make use of his whole authority, lest he be thought too severe. *Monsieur de Ville*, in his Book of Military Justice spea-

king of the Guards, tell us of a Light-Horseman of the Kings Guards; who was beheaded for having attacked a Corporal, who was upon Duty. It may also be said, this was not only to break the Generals Orders; but to violate what is most sacred in an Army; for when a Guard is set, none of those which compose it, can be affronted without danger, and tho we had the greatest reason in the World to complain of any of them; our resentment must be kept till another time. A very strange accident hapned at *Perpignan*. A Lieutenant of Horse, of the Regiment of *Brett*, and Son to the Major of the same Regiment; having had some quarrel with one of his Country-men, who had Listed himself in the Militia of *Languedoc*; it hapned that as he was going to the Army, he unfortunately saw his Enemy, who was upon the Guard

Guard at the Gate of the City, and not being able to master his Passion, he drew his Sword upon him and pursu'd him into the Corps *de Garde*; but he at last recalling his Courage, and surpris'ing the other with his return, ran the Captain through, making him fall down dead upon the place; which for the fear he had of being punished for it, made him endeavour to make his escape, but *Ribertiere* the Town Major coming upon the place, settled his mind, telling him that if he was to be blamed for any thing, it was for not firing upon him at first when he attacqued him; and in effect, so soon as Monsieur *Schomberg* was informed of the thing, he was so far from proceeding against him that had kill'd the other, that all the proceeding was against the dead Man, to be an Example to others.

CH A P. XI.

What a Young Captain ought to observe in a March, either to the Army or into Garison, and to whom he ought to go for Orders, either in passing through Frontier Towns, or when he is come to his Garison.

A Person who has never been in the Wars, and who gets a Troop either by the recommendation of some great Man, or by reason of his Quality; ought, (that he may not fall into great Errors,) to know what I am going here to observe. First, if it be a new Troop, and raised amongst his own Tenants, he ought never to suffer when he marches to the Rendevouze, any Soldier to straggle from his Ranks, under any pretence

tence whatsoever; because new rais'd Soldiers thinking every thing is lawful for them to do, fail not of plundering of all sides, which causes a great deal of trouble; he must therefore, when he marches in the head of his Troop, place Officers on the Right and Left, and to bring up the Rear of his Troop, to hinder them from stragling from their Ranks; and in case, they have any pressing need to go from their Ranks, he that gives them leave to go, must take care to see them come into their places again, that they may not take such pretences to commit disorders. At the beginning of the *Dutch War*, a great many young Captains very much repented their not having used this Caution; for the People which were plundered by their Soldiers in their march, sent up to Court long informations against them, and when they expected to receive

their pay, they found in the Treasurers hands, the Kings order to stop wherewith to satisfie the injur'd People; and more over it is in my opinion to make a very ill beginning, to give cause to any to write against them; for what opinion will the King have of them, when he hears the first exploit they have done, is making War against the Peasant. A Captain ought not to allow his Soldiers in their march to speak loud, much less sing, for that does not become Soldiers at all: I do not mean but upon some occasion they may be allowed to speak together, but it must be softly, so as to shew they are sensible of the respect they owe their Officers, and that they are always ready to attend their commands. A Captain being about five or six Miles distance from the place, where he is ordered to Quarter, ought to send his Quarter-Master

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Master or his eldest Serjeant before, delivering him the Kings orders, that he may find the Billets ready made out when he comes thither; but when he comes near the Frontier, he must send him away in the Morning before him, by reason of the number of Forces which may happen to be there; and the Major and chief Officers must have timely notice given them, that in so great a hurry, they may have time to provide Quarters for all. When they are come before the Town Hall, the order is to draw up, and to face towards it, for it would be ridiculous to face from it; but yet I have seen some young Officers fail in this, not having been informed of it. The Officers of the Town ought then immediately, to come down and pass them in review, and deliver out the Billets; but there are some, who make the Troops wait; thinking that the Inhabitants

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habitants will thereby be less op-
prest, if they Quarter the Soldiers
a little late. In this case it is good
to put them in mind of the Kings
Orders, whereby they are engaged
not to keep them upon the Stones,
for this is extreamly prejudicial,
especially to Horse, which are spoild
more by this, then by marching.
If you perceive they intend so to
use you, and take no notice of
what you say, having an ill design
in what they do, I would advise
the Officer to enquire where the
chief Officers have a good Meadow
and unbridle there: I have always
done thus, whilst I have been in
the War; when I have found the
Officer of a Town rude to me, and
I was no sooner in their Meadow,
but they sent to me and delivered
me out Billets. When a Captain
has his Billets, he goes to his own
Quarters, and draws up his Men
upon a Line before his door, the
Quarter-

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Quarter-Master or Serjeants distributing out the Billets, keeping a List of them, that if there happen any disorder, it may be known who is to be call'd to an account for it. This Counter-rol ought to be double, one of the duplicates kept by the Quarter-Master or eldest Serjeant, and the other given to the Captain. When the Quarters are settled, they cannot be alter'd without leave from the Captain. I know very well they venter very often to do it, but no Captain that understands his business will suffer it. If a Soldier commits any disorder in his Quarters, the Captain ought to make an Example of him; and if he have kill'd or wounded any body, the Criminal ought to be deliver'd into the hands of the civil Magistrate, to have Justice done upon him. A Captain ought to behave himself as I have said, upon his march, until he comes
into

into a Garison'd Town, for there he must send for Orders, or he will be made to do it. I have seen a great Contest upon this account, between some great Officers; one party pretending that only the Garison was obliged to it, the other that no body was exempted from it; but it was decided that an entire Company Quartering in a Garison'd Town, could not be dispensed from it, and that, if the Recruits were not obliged to the same, it was because there seldom marched any Quarter-Master or Serjeant with them; and if there did, they had business enough upon their hands to look after the Soldiers, to hinder them from running from their Colours. It was also added, that the Governour had power, if he pleased, to make all Recruits come for Orders, which was agreed to, by every body: so that to shew one knows what one

is

is to do, I should advise every Officer to send to him for Orders.

If in a Garison there happens to be a Lieutenant General, or a Marshal *de Camp*; then an Officer is not to go to the Governour for Orders; for that would make him be laught at, and thought not to understand his business. The General Officer commands, wherever he happens to be. This is a thing past dispute, and which I have seen practised upon several occasions. Yet I once knew a Governour, who did not know this, or else was vain enough to give the word to the prejudice of Monsieur *de S. Lieu*, a Marshal *de Camp*; but he was jeered enough for it, and which was worst, he had a Commandant sent in the heat of the War, to command in his room; by which it plainly appeared, he was not thought to be a Man of great experience. There happen'd a thing
in

in 1674. which, I do not yet understand; Monsieur *de Schomberg*, sent to *Perpignan* Monsieur *de Mornas* a Brigadier of Foot, to take care of the Convoys, which were to come to the Army, with a Commission of Commandant: *Mornas* by vertue of that Commission, expected the Garison should come to him for Orders; and *Chatillon*, the Kings Lieutenant of the Town, and Lieutenant General of the Province, thought it belonged to him. The reason in all appearance was on his side, for being the Kings Lieutenant, none but the King himself had any Power over him, but Monsieur *de Schomberg* having taken part with Monsieur *de Mornas*, he prevailed, and all that Monsieur *de Chatillon* had left to do, was to have leave from the Count to retire home, that he might not have the dissatisfaction of being forced to obey a person
he

he had always had the command over. I cannot imagin why Monsieur *de Schomberg* declared himself in this manner against *Chastillon*, for he knew that the Kings Lieutenants of Provinces, within their Governments, command not only Brigadiers, but Marshals *de Camp*, and Lieutenant Generals themselves. Not but that there is a distinction to be made; for when an Army is drawn together in any County, the Lieutenant General of the Army always Commands, otherwise the Kings Lieutenant of the Province always does, altho there were a Lieutenant General at the Head of a detached Party to winter in he Country. The following Example will justifie what I have asserted. When Monsieur *le Bret* a Lieutenant General, commanded the Forces of *Catalonia*, and marched to *Bordeaux*; Monsieur *de Montecu* the Kings Lieutenant

tenant of the Province would command, which the other did not take in good part, thinking the Command belonged to none but himself: almost all the Officers took part with Monsieur *le Bret*; but the Court, whither Monsieur *de Montecu* had written, decided it quite otherwise, which made Monsieur *le Bret* retire, upon pretence of sickness.

But this Rule is not so General, but it admits sometimes of an Exception: For Example, Monsieur *de Vaubrun*, who commanded in *Alsatia*, as Lieutenant to the Duke of *Mazarine*, being once at *Brisack*, Monsieur *de St. Abre*, a Lieutenant General passed by the place; he expected they should come to receive Orders from him, but Monsieur *de Vaubrun* not agreeing to it; they both complained to Monsieur *de Turenne*, who Commanded in chief the Kings Army

Army in *Alsatia*. Monsieur *de Turenne* heard them both with great attention, and then having asked Monsieur *de Vaubrun* what he was, and what Monsieur *de St. Abre*, was; and he being answer'd by him, that Monsieur *de St. Abre* was a Lieutenant General, and himself a Marshal *de Camp*, Well then say Monsieur *de Turenne*, since the Order is, that a Marshal *de Camp* must obey a Lieutenant General, pray do you another time obey Monsieur *de St. Abre*.

An Officer when he is to send Orders, ought to know to whom he is to send them: It does not indeed belong to him to decide the pretensions of any; but if he knows his profession, he will do well to shew he does so; yet in such a case as I have mentioned of Monsieur *le Bret*, and Monsieur *de Montecu*, I would not advise a young Officer to prefer a Lieutenant

nant of a Province, before a Lieutenant General of the Army; of the last he will every day have need, and it may be he will never see the other again in his Life. It is enough that for his own satisfaction, he knows the Lieutenant of a Province commands a Lieutenant General within his own Government; but to make his court to the prejudice of a Person in whose power it is to prefer him, is very absurd and against common sense.

When there pass through any Garrison, any persons of great Quality, I have known Governours order the Word to be receiv'd from them; the Majors must in this case do what is commanded them by the Governour; but it would be a great fault in them, to go of themselves. It is not for them to insinuate themselves by shewing such respects to any one, for they ought

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ought to own no respect to any, but, as they are distinguished by their commands, and as their Employments require a deference to be paid to them.

A Governour or a Lieutenant of a Province, coming to a Garison Town which has a dependance upon his Government; commands, although the Governours should be Lieutenants Generals in the Army. The reason is because a Governour or a Lieutenant of the Kings represents the Kings Person throughout his whole Government, wherefore it is very unfit, where the King is present, or he who represents him, that any other should pretend to command. I have seen a thousand Examples of this, besides what I have mentioned: As for Example; in *Picardy* and *Artois*, the Duke of *Elboeuf* commands when he is at *St. Quintin*, and *Monsieur de Pradel* a Lieutenant General

ral and Governour of the place obeys him; as also *Nancré* and all others that are Lieutenant Generals; nay more if the Marshal de *Crequi*, Governour of *Bethune* were in his Government, though he be a Marshal of *France*, he must be commanded by the Duke of *Elbeuf*, for in this case, that Quality is not consider'd; there must notwithstanding be a distinction made, which is very remarkable, which is, that when an Army is drawn together in a Province; the Person who has the Kings Commission to command in chief, commands every where, which caused *Monde Turenne*, to give his opinion against *Vaubrun*, in the dispute between him and *St. Abre*; because the Kings Army being in *Alsatia*, he was to obey Monsieur de *St. Abre*, as well at *Brisack*, as in the Army. This remark has great need to be cleared, because of what

I have said before of Monsieur de Montecu, and Monsieur le Bret; for there are many who will not be able to comprehend the reason without it, why Monsieur de Vaubrun was to obey Monsieur St. Abre, and yet Montecu was to command le Bret. But you will find this difference in their cases. First, Mon. de Vaubrun was an Officer in the Army, and it would have been going against all Order, to have him command a Man who is naturally to command him, for the Employment he had in *Alsatia*, was not to be taken notice of in relation to Monsieur de St. Abre. If Monsieur de Montecu had been a Marshal de Camp in the Army of *Catalonia*, as Monsieur de Vaubrun was in that of *Alsatia*; without dispute it would not have becom'd him to have disputed with Monsieur le Bret for the command; but he was barely the Kings Lieutenant in that

that Province, and he claimed the command in Right of his Office. Secondly, there is also this difference; that Monsieur *de St. Aloyse* was in a Province where the Kings Army acted, and therefore he had all sorts of command there; and Monsieur *le Bret* on the contrary was in a Country that was quiet and where the Troops were come to take their Winter-Quarters. Therefore there could be no manner of reason to think, that the Kings Lieutenant of a Province, who in the Governours absence represents the Kings Person, should receive Orders from him.

All the Kings Lieutenants of Provinces commanding, as, I have said even Lieutenant Generals of the Army within their own Governments. They are when they there view any Forces to be saluted with the Sword by the Horse, and with the Pike by the Foot, the Kings Guards excepted; for they

owe no salute, but to the King himself, if they do otherwise towards the Generals, it is because they sometimes to make their Court dispence with their Duty. Whilst the Marshal *de Albret* commanded the King's Gendarms: I saw, Monsieur *de la Salle*, who was a Sub-Lieutenant under him, beat a Trumpeter for sounding a March at his coming to the head of the Squadron; he also forbad the Gendarms to draw their Swords, and the Marshal durst not take notice of it, for he knew that respect did not belong to him; Monsieur *de la Salle* and he, were then at odds, or else I believe Monsieur *de la Salle* would not have used so much formality. When one *Roure*, headed a Rebellion in *Vivarez*, Monsieur *le Bret* had Orders to march against him. The Count of *Roure*, the Kings Lieutenant of *Languedoc*, and who had *Vivarez* within
his

his Commission, sent him word he intended to come in Person to the head of the Forces. This troubled Monsieur *le Bret*, that he should be forc'd to obey a Man of but Two and Twenty years of Age; but, there being no way to avoid it, he went to him, for Orders, and made him be saluted when he took the command of his little Army. I have notwithstanding, known some Old Officers do otherwise, and not salute a Lieutenant of a Province; but I would not take Example by them, for they have been always forc'd the next day to make excuses for it to him, and make use of some pitiful reasons to extenuate their fault.

Men who are possess'd of any of these great Commands, take great care not to do any thing beneath them, nor to suffer any omission of the respect which they think is due to them, in others. So that

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I would not advise any to make themselves a business of this nature, for they are not like to come out of it with much honour; besides, those Persons always remember any affronts done to them, and they being in great Authority, it is dangerous to incur their displeasure. Nay, they will not yield up their Rights in any dispute with the Clergy, and Monsieur *de Bar*, Governour of *Amiens*, had a long suit with the Bishop, who pretended all the Chapter was to be *Incens'd* in the Church before him; and Monsieur *de Bar*, claim'd it as his right to be *Incens'd* immediately after the Bishop; there were great Factions made to support each side, and the Bishop of *Amiens* forgot not to use his Rhetorick. But for all that, the matter was judg'd in Council, the King present, in favour of Monsieur *de Bar*, and all other Governours, do now follow this
H order,

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order, altho I have had it from
very good hands, that before this
several of them refused to join
with him, in following the suit.

CHAP. XH.

*Of what an Officer is to observe
being in the Enemies Country.*

I Will not pretend here to lay
down a General Rule for his be-
haviour, which is impossible in this
Condition, especially that of a Sol-
diers, in which the Situation of the
place often determines the Resolu-
tion which is to be taken, and the
number of the Enemies must in-
struct him what course to take
but there are some Rules to be
observed, viz. The place or num-
ber of the Enemies: For Example
an Officer at the head of a Troop
of Horse in a March, would be

a great want of skill to skirt a Wood, for he must march as far from it as he can, for the strength of Horse is in an open Country, as that of the Foot is in the Woods. It is not that I would have an Officer of Foot incommode his march, by marching so near a Wood; for Ambuscades of the Enemy, are always to be feared in such cases. It is also then dangerous for a Troop of Horse, because they may fall upon him, and cut him off before he can get to a secure Post. An Officer of Foot therefore marching through an enclosed woody Country, must have the discretion not to march in the middle of the Plains, nor near the Woods; by this means he will have time to chuse what place to take, so as to hinder himself from being beaten; or at least if he be beaten, it will not be for want of using the right forms; if he be

attacqued by Horſe, he ought to Retreat into the Wood, and skirmiſh till he be got into it; for if he have time enough to throw himſelf into it, he may be aſſured he will not be attacqued, if he have to deal with Foot, and that he is the weakeſt, he muſt endeavour to regain the laſt deſile, and putting himſelf in Batallia in the Rear, he muſt diſpute every Foot of ground as much as he can; but if he ſees he cannot hold long without being routed, he muſt retreat ſtill to ſome other deſile, Sacrificing five or ſix Soldiers to cover his retreat. The Horſe being preſt hard, ought to follow the ſame method, ſo that when one marches in an Enemy's Country, one muſt obſerve the places one paſſes through, as exactly as curious Travellers do, ſo as not to be miſtaken in paſſing; that it may very well be ſaid, that when an Officer has any ſhare of underſtanding, and knows the Country

Country, it is almost impossible for him to be beaten, in marching: an Officer ought to send out Scouts before him, instructing them what they are to do; the duty of Scouts not being to advance full speed towards the Enemy, as many do with great imprudence. But if they discover any thing, they are presently to give an account to the Commander in chief, and waiting for his Orders, not to march faster than a foot pace; when they have Orders to Charge, they must go upon the Trot, for that awakens the mind, and animates the Courage. When the Scouts pass through a Village, it must not be without making diligent enquiry and search, for there may be a party of the Enemy there; who to have the more advantage, will let them pass by, and not discover themselves, till they can fall upon their Body. That which the Of-

ficer who Commands them, ought to do in this case, is, to take one or two of the Village, and to enquire of them, if there be any news; if they answer him, there is not, as most commonly they do, he is not for all that to trust to their Word, but carry them with him beyond the Village, that they may be hostages for him; for this is a way to make them speak the truth, and he ought not to release them, till he sees his own party safe; wherefore he is to stay till the whole Troop be within Musket shot on the farther side of the Village, and if it happens that the hostages have deceived them, it is lawful for him, by the Law of Arms, to kill them upon the place. A Man that is at the head of a Troop, ought to detach but one prudent Man to command his Scouts; if these Scouts are but 10 or 15, they send out only 2 before them.

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them, and these two ought to look on all sides of them; if any thing appears, they must go upon the Trot, to ask upon any discovery, who they are for. The Scouts make them good, and the Troop supports the Scouts, the strongest commonly make the weaker give the Word; but there are some so obstinate, that they will not answer, which has been the cause that many times people of the same party have charged each other. *Du Brui*, a very rich Man, who carried the White Colours, was unfortunately kill'd in 1667. upon the like occasion; so that to prevent any such accidents for the future, the King made an Order, that the weakest party should be obliged to speak first, which it may be is the least obeyed of any, every one looking upon it as a point of Honour, to make the other party speak first. When one marches

thus in an Enemies Country, it is more safe to Encamp, than to stop in any Village; for the Soldiers cannot find at the corner of a Hedge, as they do in a House wherewithal to Debauch; for if they can, they had rather be hang'd than not drink all Night; so that if any thing should happen to require their immediate service, they must not be kept wallowing in plenty, though it were in our power; for they are much readier for service when they suffer some little want, than when they enjoy too much plenty.

When an Officer is arriv'd where he is resolv'd to Encamp, he must draw up his Men, and having set his Guards, he may give his Men some ease, by allowing them to alight from their Horses, if it be Horse, or if Foot, to repose themselves; but they must always be fac'd towards the Town, which

is nearest the Enemy, leaving as much as may be a defile in the Front and Rear, which are to be guarded to prevent a surprize; if the danger be imminent, they must be kept at their Arms all Night; and for greater security, Scouts are to be sent out from Half-hour to Half-hour, and at day break Scouts are sent out further than those which went out in the Night; and when they are come back, the March is to be continued. I would advise the Foot to lye in the Woods, when they are to march 2 or 3 days in the Enemies Country, for thereby they run much less hazard; the Horse may also do the same, that they may not be so soon discovered; but it is necessary for both to traverse the Wood well before they engage themselves in it, for there may be Ambuscades laid, to which they may fall when they least think of it.

I have known Officers, who for not having taken these cautions, have been beaten by their own fault; wherefore a Captain ought not to suffer his Men to straggle, because he is near the place whither he is ordered to go; it is there where the Enemy most commonly lays his Ambuscades, thinking as it happens too often, that by too great a confidence, not to say negligence, they shall find Men in most disorder. In our return from the Campaign of *Lisle*, the forces which accompanied Monsieur de *Turenne* to *Doulens*, quitted their Squadrons and Battalions, so that there happening an alarm, there could hardly enough be found to make out a regular detachment; the Officers having been the first to leave the head of the Troops: Monsieur de *Lamezan*, who had lately sold his Command of Sub-Lieutenant of the Gendarms to

the Prince of *Soubise*, was also kill'd in the same place, by the fault of the Commander of his Convoy; for he had no sooner discovered the Steeples of the Town, but he suffer'd his Men to straggle, thinking himself in security; but soon after being set upon, he was forc'd to run away, and those who stood their ground were all kill'd upon the place. It is therefore a very dangerous thing to suffer those one Commands to leave their Ranks; for were there no danger, does it look well for an Officer to come to the Gates of a Town with half his Troop, and to be forc'd to enter it without them, or to stay till they are come up? When an Officer does this, he must not expect to gain much Reputation, nor even to be the better beloved by his Soldiers; for although the liberty which he gives them, is pleasing to them, for the present.

sent they are apt to despise him; afterwards he thereby shewing that he knows not how to acquit himself of his duty as he ought.

An Officer must take care not to take any false alarm; that is, think he sees the Enemy when he sees only Cattel or Trees; for although that may proceed from a badness of sight, yet Men who are always aptest to believe the worst, will attribute it to fear; which when they once believe, 'tis very hard to remove such impressions; he must therefore never be positive in any thing, till he be assured he cannot be deceived. Yet I have known Officers, who commanded the Scouts, send word that they had discovered the Enemy; and when the chief Officers of the body of the Army came up to satisfy themselves, they found, they appeared only in their own imagination; when this has
once

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once hapned to an Officer, he is laught at for it all his Life time, and he cannot think ever to be excused it. A Man ought therefore never to report any thing which he has not seen himself, for he must not trust to any body else in this case: It being but an ill excuse for a Man to make for giving a false alarm, to cast the fault upon another.

A Lieutenant in the Regiment of *Chau*, who was subject to these sort of Visions, was once sent out to make good the Scouts, and was followed by much a stronger Troop than that which he commanded; the Country where he marched, was all divided with Ditches, and Hedges; so that one could not march very far without meeting with a great many Lanes; and there fell so great a storm of Rain, that a Ditch over which the Scouts had passed, was fill'd with water,
so

so that endeavouring to pass it, he escaped drowning very narrowly; he therefore drew up his Squadron, and casting his Eyes on the other side, he took a fancy that he saw the Enemy charging the Scouts, and putting them to the Rout; the Rain being ceased, he perceived afar off, upon the side of a high way, a little Shepherds Cot, and a Sheep-fold; there stood also there three Carts loaded with Corn, which were brought to the Barn; the Carts, he took for so many Squadrons, and the Fold for a Battalion, which made him send word to him that was to strengthen his party; that his Scouts were either kill'd or made Prisoners, and that it was best for him to Retreat quickly, the Enemy being by much the strongest: The Commander of that party being a young Man without experience, relyed wholly upon his information, and returned without

without making any further inquiry; being come back to the Camp, he made his Report of what had hapned, to the General; and posselt every body so much with the imaginary danger he had been in, that every body lookt upon him as happily escaped; but by misfortune for him, whilst they were speaking of the Scouts which were thought to be kill'd, they came back to the Camp to the great surprisal of all; every one running to them, to know how they had escaped from so great a danger, but being answer'd, that they had seen none, it was easily seen that all the fault was in the Officers; so that the thing being reported to the General, he commanded them both to be secured in the Custody of the Provost Marshal, being resolved to prosecute them; but some friends interceding for the Prisoners, they were taken out of the hands

hands of the Marshal; but it was upon condition they should appear before the Council of War, at which the Captain and the Lieutenant were cashier'd, and it was like to have gone worse with the last; for by assuring that the Scouts had been beaten, he had spoken ill of a Cornet who commanded them, who was a young Gentleman of Quality, and took the thing much to heart; and indeed a Man ought not only to take care of his Actions but his Words, for he must not with impunity take away any Man's Reputation by his obloquy.

As it is dangerous to take a false alarm, it is not a less one to engage ones self imprudently in danger, because imprudence tarnishes the bravest Actions, for both are equally blamed, as the following Example will shew. The Marquess of *Gentis*, Colonel of the Crown Regiment, being

being arrived at *Tongres*, in 1673. obtained a Convoy to go as far as *Maseik*; there were Fifty Horse commanded out with a Captain, Lieutenant, Cornet, and Quarter-Master; when the Troop was out of the Town, the Captain detach'd his Scouts, commanded by a Cornet of the Commissary Regiment, a very brave Man; but whose Head went faster than his Arm, so that without reflecting how he engaged himself, he enter'd upon a *Causey* without discovering on both sides of it; by that time he had got 200 yards, he perceived upon his Left-hand a great Squadron, and before him 50 or 60 Men, who were lying upon their Faces, and who arose up as soon as they saw him engaged upon the *Causey*; he immediately commanded his Men to halt, and thought to have Retreated back; but he found behind him a like number
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of Foot, who presented their Muskets at him: in this extremity he took that course, which his Courage inspir'd him with, which was to charge those in the Front; and Fortune seconding his boldness, he routed them, and kill'd the Commander with his own Pistol, from thence he went on to *Maseick*, whilst the Marquess of *Genlis*, who was an Eye-witness of this Action, thinking it not proper to engage so many of the Enemy, returned back to *Tongres*, where he gave such a Relation of what had hapned, as gave cause enough to commend the Courage and blame the imprudence of the Cornet.

In speaking above, I said the Lieutenant was very like to have been punished severely, for having accused a Cornet for not doing his duty; an Officer must therefore take great care to abstain from speaking ill of any body.

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for slander is so odious to all People, that altho we naturally love to hear ill of our Neighbour, yet he is always sure to be esteemed by none that speaks it; and besides, it will be impossible for him, not to cause himself thereby a thousand quarrels; for those who thus tear their Neighbours Reputation, have always a design in it; they thinking by pulling down the honour of others, they shall raise themselves upon their Enemies; but they do not take notice that it will happen the quite contrary of what they think; for instead of gaining thereby esteem, they create in all an evil opinion of their virtue, Men commonly not contenting themselves with words, to give their esteem, for great Actions alone can acquire it; and I have always observed, that they that never speak ill of their Neighbours are commonly the honestest Men.

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Monsieur *de Turenne* could never endure to hear any one speak ill of another; and I have often heard him take the parts of Men very little known to him, and reprove those who spake ill of them, and to prevent the accusing an Officer of Cowardize, who had the misfortune of being once beaten; he would give him the Command of another party, and if he then hapned to come off again with loss, he would still send him out till he had his revenge; and then taking pleasure to justifie him, would speak of his last Actions in such terms, as were able to destroy any ill opinion that was formerly conceived of him: he also always maintained, that a Man ought not to be the less esteemed of, for having been beaten; for if that were a good rule, he said he was sure his Reputation was lost long ago.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

What a young Officer is to do when he comes into the Army.

WHEN a Man has never been in an Army, when he comes into the Camp, he is in an amazement, he hears a Language spoken, which till then, was unknown to him; and to which before he is accustomed, he must be some time in the Camp. The Guard of the Camp, the *Piquet*: The Guard of the Colours: The Orderly Guard: The Generals Guard: The Main Guard: The Ordinary Guard: And the *Bivac*, are new Words to him; and which he cannot understand the meaning of, until they are explained to him. The Guard of the Camp, is the Guard upon which the whole Army

Army relies; they have Day-posts, and Night-posts; their Posts in the Day time are at some distance from the Camp, and on the side which is towards the Enemy, that if any thing appears, the Army may have timely notice to stand to their Arms; their Posts at night are near the Army, that they may not be cut off by the Enemy; in the day time this Guard commonly alight from their Horses, and detach a small Corps-de-guard before them, and that small Guard Centries sometimes one sometimes two as need requires. This small Corps-de-guard do also alight from their Horses, the Sentinels only being on Horseback, which are relieved every hour; there is also a Sentinel plac'd on the side towards the Army, but this is only to give notice when the Generals are coming, for then the whole Guard is obliged to be on Horseback, and

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to receive them with their Swords drawn, unless there be an express Order to the contrary; the Persons to be saluted with the Sword, are the Generals, the Lieutenant Generals, the Marshalls *de Camp*, and the Generals of Horse; for when any of these appear, this respect is to be paid to them: in the Night-time the Guard ought never to alight, they having then as well as by day, a little Advanc'd-guard, and there ought to be plac'd between it and them Sentinels on Horse-back, with Orders to listen very attentively to hear what passes, and upon all occasions to give notice of what they hear, to the Guard; he that commands this little Guard is to inform the Commander of the great Guard, and he the Person who commands the General of the Horse's Guard. Some Officers to ease their Men and their Horses keep but one Rank

Rank on Horseback to be relieved every hour; but this ought not to be done, especially if the Enemy be near, but he that commands the little advance Guard ought to suffer none of his Men to alight. The Sentinels which are plac'd in the Night ought to be double, for being Two together, they will not be so apt to fall asleep; they are relieved from hour to hour; but before they are allowed to joyn the Squadron, they are obliged to go upon the Patrole, having a Word and a Signal given to them, that there may be no disorder when they meet; there happen very nice affairs sometimes to the Officers upon the Guard: For I have known in *Flanders* Sentinels desert to go into the Enemies Army, which was within a quarter of a League of ours; upon this occasion the Word which is given, must be chang'd, and the General of the Horse

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Horse acquainted with the desertion, for then is the greatest likelihood of being attacked by the Enemy, they thinking to gain great advantage by the Word, being discover'd to them by the deserter. This caution must be used also when they take Prisoners, any of those which are upon the Patrole, lest they learn from them the Word, and then endeavour to surprize you: An Officer which commands the Guard, ought always to be on Horseback, and every quarter of an hour visit his advanc'd Corps-de-guard, and his Sentinels, but if he be not able to watch himself, he must desire the Officer which commands next to him, to have an Eye to every thing, and to awaken him, if any thing happens. It is commonly at the break of day, that the Enemy makes any attempt; and then we are to send the General notice, so soon as
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any thing appears, but we ought not to quit our Posts, how eager soever we may be to fight, for a Guard is set only for the security of the Camp, and unless it be attacked, it is to shew one does not know ones business to come to blows; but however, if the Enemy charges any small Guard, which is a detachment of that which the commands, a Man ought to fly to its assistance; the reason of this is, because we our selves are attacked when those Posts are, which we are to keep; but when there are two small Corps-de-guard detached from the Main-guard, and that the one is attacked, the other ought notwithstanding to stir, for it would be to be feared, that whilst that is employed in yielding succours to the other, the Enemy would endeavour to gain their Post; they ought therefore to wait the Orders of the Commanding

der in chief of the Great Guard, who is to determin what they are to do.

As there is most commonly more than one Guard set for the safety of the Army, so if one be attacked, it is not for the others to run to their assistance, without being commanded, for the reason I have already given. It is the same thing when an alarm is taken, for although every one is obliged to make ready, and stand at their Arms at the head of the Camp; yet they must not run every where, where they hear Action; their Courage must not transport them so as to march without Order, and we acquit our selves best of our Duty, when we are ready to do, what we receive command to do. The Kings Guards did not heretofore Mount the Guard of the Camp, but at present they are no more exempted than others;

their reasons for it, were that they were to be upon no Guard of Fatigue: but it being that which accustoms our bodies to War, the King has ordered they shall do the same Duty as his other Forces do when the Enemies appear, and the General resolves to Engage them; the Guard may demand it as their right to be plac'd in the Front of the Battel; this Guard is relieved every 24 hours, and the Officer which relieves it, has always his Sword drawn, and takes the right hand of the Person he relieves.

As to the *Piquet*; it is a detachment of Men, who are always near the General, ready to execute whatsoever he commands them; wherefore they are always Booted, and their Horses Sadled; they are very useful in an Army, for alarms may happen to be given at all times, and these Men are always ready

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ready to go where there is need of them; so that a General cannot then be surprized, their employment in the day of decampment is to take care of the ways, and to see them mended, that the march of the Army may not be retarded. The Kings Guards seldom furnish Men to do this Duty, but sometimes they do.

The Guard of the Colours, is that which is drawn out of each Regiment of Horse, to guard the Colours which are at the head of the Camp, they ought to be booted, and their Swords drawn when they are upon Duty, altho they are on Foot. The Kings Guards do this Duty as well as others, and it is upon this Duty the Officers put those who have committed any fault, which is a great mortification to them, being seen and known by all that pass by. It is the Duty of this Guard to watch that there

be no immoralities committed in the Night-time in the Regiment; they are also responsible for any thing that is lost in the Night-time, therefore it behoves the Officer that commands it not to neglect his Duty. The Colonel commonly sets near his Tent a Sentinel taken from this Guard, who is relieved every hour, this he does by his own Authority, and is authorized to do it by Custom.

The Orderly Guard is a detachment, which is made out of every Regiment of Horse, of Men who go to the General of the Host his Tent, and remain there to receive Orders; so that if there happens any thing that requires hast, they are sent to their respective Regiments, whereby they are all able to put themselves in a readiness at the same instant of time: The Kings Guards are equally obliged with the rest, to furnish

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Men for this Duty, but with this distinction, that they are always lookt upon as Officers, and admitted to the General of the Horse his Table; but I have known the time when they were no more lookt upon, than other private Sentinels, which was in 1667. and then they were often commanded by a Corporal of Light-horse, they being detach'd without distinction with them.

The Generals Guard, is only to honour his Charracter, it consisting but of Foot, which is always commanded by a Captain. The Lieutenant Generals and the Marshals *de Camp*, have always Guards, but they are only mounted by inferior Officers: The Kings Guards are never upon the Guard, but to His Majesty, and there is then always both Horse and Foot. The Officer of the Generals Guard, eats always at his Table, where let the throng

be never so great, there is a place left for him: This Guard is mounted by turns, as all others are, and is relieved every 24 hours.

The great Guard and the ordinary Guard, are those which are subservient to the Guard of the Camp, which is call'd the great Guard, and is mounted by whole Regiments, or half Regiments. The great Guard, and the ordinary Guard, have different Posts in the Day-time, but they draw together at Night; and then, if there be no Colonel nor Major present, the eldest Captain commands both. A Soldier that deserts when he is upon the Guard or stands Sentinel, endeavouring to get to the Enemy, is much more severely punished if he is caught, then if he had taken another time to run away, for they are not shot to Death, but hang'd. Those also are hang'd who go to the Enemies,

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altho they are not upon the Guard, but most commonly, those who desert being upon the Guard, or standing Sentinel are punish'd with much more severity than the others.

At *Lisle*, I saw a *Switzer* for this Crime condemn'd, first to lose his Ears and his Nose, and then to be hang'd. I have seen others made to run the Gantlet before they were hang'd: The punishment of running the Gantlet is very severe, it being executed in the manner following. There is a lane made by the Regiment, the Criminal being forc'd to run through it with his shoulders bare, and every Soldier having in his hand a hazle switch which will not break, the Soldiers being obliged not to favour him; for if they are discover'd to do so by their Officer, they are severely punish'd; the Criminal sometimes is forc'd to take two or three turns in this manner, till the

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blood gushes out from his shoulders on all sides; this is the difference which I have observed to be made between the punishment of a Man, who deserts being upon the Guard, or upon Duty, and that inflicted upon one who deserts in a Garison, or in the Army; but they are all punish'd with Death, if they are taken going to the Enemy. It seems to me that Soldiers have imitated in these sorts of punishments the common Judges; for we see that when a Man is Guilty of a very great Crime, they sentence his Hand to be cut off, before he is Executed. I have said that all are to be hang'd, taken going to the Enemy; and I saw a memorable Example of this in the first *Dutch* Campaign; for a Captain in an *Italian* Regiment, being taken running away into *Holland*, was together with all his Soldiers hang'd upon one Gallows at *Emerick*.

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There is also another Guard which is call'd the *Brue*, which is only used in Sieges; and when the Enemies are very strong or near to us, none are exempted from this, and the whole Army mounts it together, or half of it, according to the occasion: It is not to be relieved every 24 hours, for they mount it at Night, and go off in the Morning, this is done very exactly, till there are lines of Circumvallation made, which when finished, they give themselves more rest, there not being need of so many upon this Guard.

An Officer who desires to know what these Guards are, must be on Horseback every day, and be where they are drawn together, where he will find most part of the Officers of the Army, *viz.* The Generals of the Horse, the Brigadiers, the Colonels, and sometimes the Lieutenant General, and the Marshall

Marshals de Camp; he ought to follow the great Guard one day, and another the ordinary Guard, to see how they mount them, and how they come off from them, that he may know his Duty when it comes to his turn; when an Officer is commanded to the ordinary Guard, he must command the Men of his Regiment together, to the head of the Camp, half an hour before the time prefixed, and march them to the Parade place, to the end that the General of Horse may find you there, and take notice of your exactness in the discharge of your Duty; and besides it being much fitter you should wait for him, than he for you, by taking care not to fail in little things of this nature, you will soon gain the Reputation of being a good Officer; for your shewing an exactness in the discharge of your Duty, is of more advantage than all you can do in

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Fight; besides, there are every day to be found Men of Courage, and who behave themselves well, but not such as will make it their whole business to cause the Kings service to be well done by others: when our Officer therefore is detach'd upon any service, he ought always to be the first at his Arms; for the Soldiers taking Example by him, will use their endeavours to perform their Duty well, when they are satisfi'd he does his. They are very severe judges of all our Actions, and if we discover any want, either of Courage or Conduct, they are the first to censure us amongst themselves; therefore a Man for his own Reputation and Honour, must be very exact when the Kings service requires it, and not overlook any fault; but when an Officer is not upon Duty, he may use them with more mildness, for he is able, if they make an ill use
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of it, soon to bring them back to their Duty. But in all the experience I have had, I have always found mildness prevail more with them, than severity, and that they have never made an ill use of my civility to them.

An Officer ought never to suffer his Men to Rob, without punishing them severely for it; and as soon as any complaints are made to him, or any thing of this nature comes to his knowledge, he ought to make a publick Example of the offenders, yet he may order it so, as to spare them confusion of confessing their Crime; and I have very often caused what was stolen, to be restored without letting any body know who stole it, nor did I know my self; for I commanded that in marching, they should let fall what was stolen; and they stood in such fear of me, that the Person injur'd, immediately found what he

he had lost, in the Rear of the Squadrons; this does especially amongst Horse, for they stand more upon point of Honour, than the Foot; and indeed they are treated after much another rate than the Foot; for they are corrected with the Cane, but that is never done to the others, or at least ought not. A private Sentinel of the Regiment of *St. Aoust*, having been beaten with a stick by his Officer, and having complained to the General, the General reproved the Officer severely, and commanded him to use his Men more civilly for the future, the order is to Correct them with the flat of the Sword; but I would have even this used as little as may be, for a Man who has any Honour, does not easily bear blows, which is often the cause of their deserting. The King once told Monsieur *Chazeron* Lieutenant of the *Guards de Corps*,
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who complained to him, that he was forced to be always beating of them, to make them obey; as for me, if I were in your place I had rather kill them, than beat them; for if you beat them, you cannot be beloved by them. I never misused any of my Troop in my life, and yet excepting twice, I always made that to be restored which they had taken; it is much harder to make them restore what they have taken, than to be obeyed in any thing else; and tho they did disobey me in this point twice, yet they got nothing by their theft, they apprehended my anger so much. The first time that this hapned to me, was at *Roie*; where having my Quarters at the *Saracens-Head*, they took a pair of Sheets, in which my Servants had lain, and the Landlord having made his Complaint to me; I promised him either to cause them to be restored.

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stored to him, or to pay him for them; and having declar'd I would have them found again, I commanded that the Person who had taken them, should hide them in my Stable, where he hid them in the Rack, covering them with Hay; when my Troop was together, I renew'd the command in General, which I had given to every one in particular; but finding this did no good, I marched out of the Town, and commanded them in the presence of my Landlord, desiring him to go with me, to let the Sheets drop as they had done many things before; but finding that this also was to no purpose, I was forc'd to search their Bags, and to unsaddle their Horses, they often hiding what they steal under their Saddles, but what I lookt for, could not be found; so that I was forc'd to pay my Landlord for his Sheets, who restored me the Money a year af-

afterwards, telling me where he had found them. This Example suffices to prove that blows are not always necessary to make an Officer be obeyed, but that there is another way of making himself fear'd. The second time that I could not make them restore what they had stoln, was in a Village of *Alsacia*, upon the Frontier of *Lorraine*, the Army was then retiring into their Winter Quarters, and it being towards the latter season of the year, the Forces were cantoned, one Regiment on one side of the Country, and another on the other, &c. There was no Captain but was lodged under cover, and a House falling to my share, I allowed Founteen of my Troop, for whom I had something of consideration, and I thought were honest Gentlemen, to Lodge in the house with me, yet notwithstanding next morning there was a complaint made

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made of a pair of Sheets lost, and not being able to make them restore them, every one justifying himself, that he had not taken them, I was fore'd to pay for them, as I had done for the others; but not being willing to use them to play me such tricks too often, I stopt out of the pay of every one, as much as I had given to the Peasant out of whose house they were lost, of which they complained; saying, that all I could pretend to, was to have enough to reimburse myself from them all; but having answer'd them, that if they would discover to me the Person who had done the Fact, I would stop it out of his pay only; they rather chuse to lose their Money, than to make any discovery of one another: I have since heard, that they had hidden the Sheets in some part of the house, fearing a search; however, this action was not disapproved

ved by any who came to the knowledge of it; and which is more, my Men never returned to commit the same fault again, or at least I had never any complaint made to me, nor no such thing at least ever came to my knowledge.

In my opinion, an Officer cannot do himself more right than at first, when he enters into service, to shew his aversion to these Robberies, and to be severe in the punishing of them, this keeps a Soldier in awe, and tho he be never so much inclined to thievry, he will do it in fear, knowing his Officers humor, is not to suffer it; there are Officers who do not approve of this maxim, thinking they cannot have a good Troop, if they do not give them some liberty of this kind; but this ought to be done with this distinction, that when they are in an Enemies Country,

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try, they may be permitted many things, but that every where else an Officer is answerable, before God and Man, for all the Robberies which he suffers them to commit, who are under his command. A Captain who had been long in the War, and who was a Man of great honour and honesty; being asked by some others who were less scrupulous than he was, why he would not suffer his Soldiers to take so much as a Hen; 'tis answer'd he, because I have sins enough of my own, without bringing upon me the sins of others; and indeed a Captain who suffers the Widow and Orphan to be dispoyled, is bound to make Restitution, either in this life, or the next, altho he had no share in the profit of the Robbery. The Prince of *Conty*, who has made himself admired by all *France* for his holy Conversion, was so sensible of the in-

indispensibleness of this obligation, that being willing to repair the losses, which the Country had sustain'd by the Army, which he Commanded in *Catalonia* in his Life-time, sent Servants on purpose to all places where he had Quartered, to inform themselves what every one had suffer'd; and upon their report to him, he order'd them to be reimburs'd: There cannot be too much caution used in a thing whereon so much depends our Salvation; and besides, as I have already said, there is no body, whatsoever shew he may make, that he does not apprehend the Judgments of God, but does when he knows he has justly cur'd his displeasure; wherefore it is an Officers interest, to preserve his Soldiers in their innocency, for when they are laden with Crimes, they will go into the Battel, but with trembling; he ought to over-

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come at the with them; and what assistance is there to be expected from Men, who tremble even before they see the faces of their Enemies?

CHAP. XIV.

How an Officer is to behave himself, if a Command be given to another, which is due to him, or when he is commanded out of his place.

IN War, Commands are of different kinds; in some there is Honour to be acquir'd; in others, according to all likelyhood, there is nothing but trouble; these are avoided as much as may be, and no body loves to go upon these Duties out of his place; but the others are sought after with eagerness, not grudging to be always on Horseback upon such an account

count, yet if an Officer be commanded out of his place upon a troublesom Duty, he ought notwithstanding, to obey, the Kings service not admitting of any delay or dispute that which he may do, when he comes back, is to make his complaint, and then he is reprov'd who commanded him without having reason for what he did.

But I would not advise a young Man to trouble his Officers with such a complaint, if it has hapned but once to him; especially, a young Man, who ought always to be ready for all service; otherwise he will be suspected of Laziness, and unless he perceives, that they take pleasure in playing him often these tricks, he ought to content himself with telling the Person who sends him, that unless he will take care to see the Duty done by every one in his turn, he will complain to his Colonel, as to the
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commands of honour; they cannot be taken from us without doing us a great prejudice, wherefore an Officer ought not to remain silent, when an Aid-Major who knows it is our right to March, commands another in our place; there must then complaint be made; and Justice is always done to us, and he receives a reprimand, if the fault be his; but sometimes there is an express order from the General to cause another to March in our place: a Man is very unhappy when this happens, and it is a mark of the small accompt which is made of us, but it's to be consider'd that if he who is commanded is a common Party-man, we receive no prejudice by it, for it is the custom now to chuse those persons *preferably* to all others; *La Fite* Lieutenant of the Guards *du Corps*, *St. Silvestre*, *Melac*, Colonels of the Horse, and some other

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Officers are detach'd everyday out of their places, to go upon parties and no body takes it ill, because making that their profession, they are suppos'd to know it better than any others, it is free for any one to follow their Example, and to establish himself upon the same foot, but in my opinion it is a very nice profession; for besides that, there is required a great share of Wisdom and Conduct, it is also necessary to be lucky, for a Party-man is more esteem'd for the success he has in his enterprises, than for the caution he uses. *Vignol*, a Captain in the Commissary Regiment was brought into great Credit for two Actions; the success of both which he ow'd more to Fortune than to his own Conduct; not that I will say, but that he is a brave Man, and very capable of managing an enterprise; but I leave it to the World to judge, whether all the

World

World would not have done the same as he did, in both the occasions which I am going to relate.

After the taking of *Limburgh*, the King having detach'd several Officers to get some intelligence of the Enemy, sent him out four or five Leagues round about the Army: in his return, he met with a party of about 100 Horse of the Enemy, who had taken five and twenty or thirty of the Kings Guards, and were carrying them away into their Camp; at the sight of which, he was so moved, that he charged them desperately, and after having put them to flight, he released the Prisoners, who during the Fight, did on their parts all that was in their power to make him come off with honour. Another time being out upon a party towards *Mons*, there came a party of the Enemies to put themselves in Ambuscade in the same place

where he was, and he who commanded them not knowing his business, went into it without discovering the place, but *Vignols* falling upon him unawares beat him, and took a great many who were prisoners, which he carried away with him to the Camp, where this still raised his Reputation higher, which was already establish'd by the Action I related concerning the Guards. I leave it to the World to Judge as I said before, if in either of these Actions there did not appear to be as much luck as Conduct or Prudence; however, I say not this to take from his Reputation, I know he is a Man very brave in his Person, and has given many other marks of it besides these; and particularly in the encounter he had with the Count *de Stirum*, a near Kinsman to the Prince of Orange in the first *Dutch Campaign*; for he defended himself against 500 Horse

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Horse, for three whole hours in an Old house, although he was not near so strong as the Enemy: at length the Enemy having set it on Fire, he sallied out like a Lion at the head of 15 or 20 stout Men, and having met with the Count *de Stirum*, who endeavour'd to obstruct his passage, he kill'd him with his own hand, and would not yield himself, till after he had seen all his own party either kill'd or disabl'd for fight.

But to come back to my Subject: I say therefore that a Man may at any time when he pleases put himself upon the Foot of a Party-man, but I never could find there was much honour to be gained by it, nor any great Fortune to be made, unless a Man be very lucky; for a General esteems them but according to the number of Prisoners they bring, and the use they are of to him; otherwise they be-

come objects of scorn and laughter; but however, a Man that desires to advance himself in a short time, ought not to be disgusted with all these difficulties; for a Man may hope to carry his Fortune very far if he succeeds in this, and it is always a certain way to make ones self known; for his profession being that of an adventure, he ought to trust Fortune to a great degree, but it is necessary for him to fight, whether he be strongest or weakest, for he will be laughed at by every one, if he lets the Enemy escape without charging them. I know a Person who is now a great Man, who for not having followed this Rule, suffer'd some jeers at his coming first into the service; he had been out upon two or three parties without doing any thing; and being upon the same Duty a fourth time, having met with the Enemy who was much stronger than he, he

he retreated into the Woods, and sent to desire Monsieur *de Turenne* to send him some Foot to make good his Retreat; but Monsieur *de Turenne* returned him for answer, that a Man who was at the head of a commanded Party, ought never to demand succours, especially since he had been out three times already without drawing his Sword; that he might do what he pleased, but he had none to send him. He that charges first in the Night-time, has always the better of it, for the darkness hindering the Enemy from knowing what number he has with him, always takes him to be stronger than he is; he must always take care when he meets another Party abroad, not to be prevailed upon by fair words; for oftentimes Men when they find themselves the weaker Party, will say they are of the same Army, and so escape out of the hands of their Enemy, taking

advantage of our easiness of belief; therefore though a Troop should at first say they are of the same Party, an Officer notwithstanding ought still to remain upon his Guard, until they have fully prov'd that what they say is true; the Proverb being very true, that mistrust is the mother of safety. In 1668: a little before the Treaty of *Aix la Chapelle*, an Officer in the Royal forreign Regiment, being sent out with 40 Horse, and the Scouts having met with those of the Enemies, who being asked who they were for, answer'd *France*; which our Scouts believing, did let fall their Arms, and began to mix with them, as if they had been their Friends and Country-men; our whole Troop when come up, did the same; but the Enemy still having their Carbines ready, fir'd upon them, when they least suspected it; and having kill'd a good many

many of them made the rest Prisoners; the Enemies party was a detachment out of Monsieur de Louvignies Regiment, who has since Commanded the *Osnabruk* Forces, and is at present Governour of *Messina*; this Colonel having upon all occasions shew'd the Count *de Roie*, the great desire he had to oblige him, did so in this, sending him back all the Prisoners without Ransom; they always use this civility to each other, for their having once met in service caused this great dear-ness between them; their acquaintance began in this manner: When Monsieur de Turenne sent out a detachment to invest *Ypres*, before the *Pyrenean* treaty, the Enemies prest so hard the Front of this detachment, that the first Squadrons broke in upon those which followed. The Count *de Roie*, who Commanded the Rear-guard, was posted in a ditch at the head of his

Regiment, and fearing that the runaways might cause a disorder in his Ranks he let them pass, which when they had done, he made good his ground against the Enemies, who pursued ours with great eagerness. Monsieur *Louvignies*, who led up the *Spaniards* to the charge, seeing the resolute countenance of Monsieur *de Roie*, stopt short, to let his Men take breath, and to give them time to draw together; they had both their Pistols drawn, and fir'd almost upon each other at the same time, and were both wounded, the one in the Arm, and the other in the Thigh; but Monsieur *Louvignies*'s wound, they say was given him by a private Soldier; after this the Troops charged each other, and the *Spaniards* not being able to withstand the shock, were forc'd to retreat as fast as they had pursued; this Action had bred as I have said, a reciprocal esteem in these

these two Officers, so that since that time they never let any opportunity slip of shewing it to each other.

This Example shews plainly enough, that an Officer ought always to be upon his Guard, and not of too easie belief; for mistrust puts a Man out of danger of any surprize; wherefore when he meets with a Troop, he must not immediately return his Arms, because they say they are of the same side, but examin them strictly of what Regiment, the names of their Officers, and put Questions enough to them to find out the truth. There are some who make use of the Passports of others, to effect their designs; this is a very cunning artifice, and a Man must take a great deal of care not to be cheated by it; for a Passport may be fallen into the hands of the Enemy, and who knows but he will make use of it

it to entrap those he hath to deal with; the following Example will shew that the thing is not impossible, and upon the Relation that I shall make, I leave it to every one to take his measures. A Lieutenant in the Regiment of the *Switzers*, which was engarison'd at *Mastricht*, having been detach'd in the year 1675. to go upon a Party, met with one sent out by the Enemy, which he put to flight after having kill'd the Commander, amongst the papers which were found upon the dead Man, they brought him a Passport, which putting in his Pocket without thinking it could be any use to him; he went to put himself in Ambuscade in another place, but as he marched, he met with a Party of Horse of the Garison of *Luxenburgh*, and seeing himself the weakest, was forc'd to make use of a Stratagem, and say he was of the
same

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same side, shewing the Passport which he had in his Pocket. The Officer who Commanded the Enemies believed it to be true, and remaining without suspicion returned his Arms, so that they continued marching together like good friends, and went into a Village where the Officer of Horse intended to bait; he put all his Horses into a Church-yard, and after having set his Sentinels, went with the greatest part of his Men into a Cabaret to Dinner, as if he had been in no danger; but the *Switzer* thinking this time very seasonable for him to do what he design'd, left some of his Men in the Church-yard, to seize and lead away the Horses, and went with the rest of them, and finding the Officer, and his Men at Dinner, he took them all Prisoners, they making no resistance; so the *Switzer* brought back to *Mastricht* a great

great many Horses and Prisoners, and every one having known in what manner he had behaved himself, esteemed him the more.

Troops which are in Garison, and go out upon parties for many days take always a Passport, for without one, they would be taken for Robbers; these Passes are limited to a certain day, and when that time is expired, they must come back to renew them, unless they will run the venture of being hang'd, for if they fall into the hands of the Enemy; they are not lookt upon as Soldiers, but as a company of dissolute people who make use of that Character, only to commit Robbery and Spoil. As to the parties which are sent out from the Army, they do not stand in need of Passes, unless they go very far into the Enemies Country; and then they are as necessary for them, as if they were Garison Forces;

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the reason is, that when they go so far off, they are commonly but few in number, as five, seven or nine; and then they will be taken rather, for people got together to rob than for fair Enemies.

But not to make a longer digression, I say that the sending out a Man which is used to it, upon a party, is of no prejudice to us, although it should be our turn to march. Excepting in which case it is not to be done; for it is to have very little confidence in a Man, to give a Command which is due to him, to another; but yet even this is not without Example, and I shall here take notice of what is to be done upon such an occasion. When Monsieur *de Rochfort* was before *Mastricht*, in the year 1672. he detach'd Monsieur *de Lanfon* Lieutenant of the Guards *du Corps*, with 200 Horse of the Kings Guards, to guard a Million
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of Livers which was at Sedan, and the Army had need of, who surprized in the middle of his way a party of the Enemies which was baiting in a Village, and having learnt from the Peasants, that one half of the party was in a neighbouring wood, he set two little parties on the skirts of it, to pursue them if they came out; these two little parties were made up, the one out of the Guards *du Corps*, the other of Gendarms, Light-horse; and Musketeers, the Command of the first belonged to the eldest of the Life Guard, and the other to the eldest Gendarm; but the looks of the Gendarm, not being liked by Monsieur *de Lanfon*, he asked to see another, and he pleasing him no better, he gave the Command to a Light-horseman, commanding the rest to obey him; that which these two Gendarms, to whom this injustice was shewn, were

were to have done, was to retire from the service, and so ought all of the same body to have done; for it being their right to Command the Light horse, this affront was done to them all, and if they had complained, Monsieur *de Lan-son* could not have made any excuse, but would have been reprov'd for it by the General.

The following Example is more nice, and it is thought a Man cannot at such a time exempt himself from receiving orders, from the person whom by right he ought to Command. At the Siege of *Mastricht*, the Cornet of the Commissary Regiment, of whom I have formerly spoken, having been detach'd upon an Advance-Guard to beat back the Enemy, who had been Foraging in the Corn-fields, and acquitted him so well of this Duty, that the King commanded him to be the next day upon the
Guard

Guard at the same Post; commanding a Lieutenant, who was to be there for his assistance to obey him; this command surpriz'd every body, there having seldom been any of the like nature given, which caused a great deal of discourse amongst the Officers; who having well weigh'd every thing, all agreed that the Lieutenant did well in obeying; it being lawful for the King, or even a General to change the Oeconomy of things, but not for any other Officer, who is responsible himself for what he does.

CHAP. XV.

Of Parties, and of the measures they are to take.

Since I have spoken in the foregoing Chapter of Parties, I shall here finish my Relation with what I have observed concerning them: To do this Duty well, it is absolutely necessary to know the Country, and where Ambuscades may be laid, for when they have need of a Guide to shew them; they run a great risque of being beaten; a Guide being commonly of the Country where the heat of the War is; and what trust is there to be put in a Man, who sees all his Country-men and friends ruined, and brought into despair? For is it not most likely, that if it were in his power, he would have the

the whole Army beaten, to deliver his Country from the miseries which are caused by their remaining in it; besides when the Commander of a party is upon the March, he ought never to go the direct way, but skirt of each side of him, to take from the Enemy any knowledge of the way he marches; for it is always to be supposed the Enemy has Scouts out in the Country, therefore we ought to use as much caution as if we were pursued; an Ambuscade ought never to be laid in the night before having well examined the place, otherwise they would be exposed to the inconveniencies I have before observed, in speaking of *Vignoles*. The Sentinels must be so plac'd, that they may not be discover'd by the Enemy, and they ought always to be set double. The Sentinels ought never to be suffer'd to alight, although I have

known

known some Officers maintain it to be better to have the Sentinels on foot, because being so, they may lay their ears to the ground, and thereby sooner discover than by trusting to their Eyes, if there be any Enemies abroad; but in this case there is but one allowed to alight, but in my opinion it is much better to keep to the ancient rule; which is, that a Sentinel ought not to alight upon any occasion whatsoever; and as for the rest of the party, if it be Horse, the Commander ought not to suffer any of by them to alight, for if the Enemy should come upon them, there would be too much time required for them to mount their Horses; and besides, it is to be fear'd, it cannot be done without noise, and giving such warning to the Enemy, as will give them leisure to go too far for you to overtake them; if it is Foot, they ought always

ways to be at their Arms, for if the Soldiers be allowed to rest themselves, they will be sure to sleep; and when 'tis necessary for them to Fight, it will be very hard to awaken them; which when they are on a sudden, they are most inclinable to fear. Stone-Horses are very unfit for going upon a party, for it being absolutely necessary, that an Enemy should not discover the Ambuscade which is laid for him; the neighing of a Horse may give them notice of what we would not have them know. It is related in a famous Author, that *Darius* was chosen King, for the neighing of his Horse; but in this case on the contrary, instead of being an advantage to a Man, it may often cost him his Life. This History being a very pleasant one, I have thought it would not be disagreeable to the Reader to relate it; after the *Magicians* had taken away the

the Crown of *Persia*, from the family of *Cyrus*, the great Men of the Kingdom assembled themselves as well to punish these offenders, as to make election of one to succeed him; but instead of agreeing in the choice of the person, every one pretended to the Crown himself, which had threatned the State with a civil War; had not the most Judicious amongst them, to prevent a civil War proposed this expedient, *viz.* that they should assemble themselves in a certain place, and that he whose Horse did first neigh, should be acknowledged King by the rest; and this agreement being published in the Town, a Groom belonging to *Darius*, who wisht his Master might have the Crown, led in the Night-time the Horse which *Darius* was accusom'd to ride, to the place appointed, and there letting him smell to a Mare, the Horse neighed all the while he was there; the

and the Groom continued this trick until the day appointed came; at which time, the great Men being assembl'd, when *Darius* entred the place, his Horse remembring what had hapned to him, began to neigh, so that the great Men of the Kingdom to comply with their engagement, acknowledged *Darius* for their King; but the case is quite different with us, for whereas, it was of importance for him, for his Horse to neigh for the gaining of a Crown; it no less imports us that our Horse should forbear, lest it make us lose both Life and Reputation.

An Officer must himself keep great silence, and see it also kept by all his Men, when he is in Ambuscade, it being his Duty to go from time to time between the ranks to keep every one awake; Scouts must not be sent out in the night, but always as soon as day breaks, before

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before the Ambuscade be raised, which is commonly done before the Sun appears, unless there be an order to the contrary, or that they are of such strength as not to apprehend any thing; the reason of this is, that if they stayed longer, the Enemy would certainly have notice of it; and it may be, cut them off in their Retreat: A Man ought never to make his Retreat by the same way he came, because the Enemy knowing there is a party abroad will make a stronger detachment than he has with him, and charge them in his Retreat; therefore to put them out of their measures it is best never to Retreat the same way one came. There is great caution to be used in ones march, till arrived in the Camp; for if as I have said, the Enemy places often their Ambuscade at the Gates of a Town, they do also often at the entry of a

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Camp, always thinking its nearness will make an Officer less mindfull of his Duty. When an Officer has orders to get intelligence at any rate, he must seize upon the first person he meets, but otherwise it would not be worth his while to discover himself, for the taking of one two or three persons; for then it would be said of him, that he went out, and returned without running any hazard, for the Enemy must be more numerous than we are to gain any Reputation by them, and some blood must be shed. I do not mean but that they may discover themselves to take some small party, but that which is done in this case, commonly is that after having made them Prisoners, contenting themselves with keeping them, they wait for a more favourable opportunity to gain honour. Men in an Ambuscade ought never to dis-

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cover themselves till the Enemy is so near, that he cannot escape; for if a Man should do so, so soon as he sees the Enemy, he will run the censure of being thought to have no mind to Fight. An Officer of the Gendarms more considerable for his Birth and Command, than for the Reputation he had gotten in the War; having often persecuted the General to send him out, with a party of commanded Men, obtained of him by being importunate what would not have been granted to him, either for his Courage or Conduct; and his command requiring that he should not march at the head of a small party, he had 400 Horse given to him, with which he put himself in Ambuscade in a place where he could not fail in a short time of seeing the Enemy; and in effect, they appeared in a few hours; the Sentinel informing this new Officer of

it, but withal, that they were yet at a very great distance; yet notwithstanding this, he presently discovered himself with all his Men, which forc'd the Enemy to face about, who being near half a Miles distance from him, saved themselves in the Woods before he could come to them. I do really think the Officer intended to do his best, and would have been very glad to have signalized himself; but however, whether what he did, was out of want of experience, or what was imputed to him by others, viz. that he was glad to avoid fighting; the King was no sooner informed of the affair, but he ordered him to sell his command. In the *Dutch Campaign* Colonel *Massiette*, a *Flemish* Gentleman, an Officer of great Reputation amongst the *Spaniards*, in whose service he had been a long time, undertook to surprize and take Prisoners the ad

advanced Guard of our Army; in order to which, he laid himself in Ambuscade in a neighbouring wood, and taking the time when they had unbridled, he charged them with so much mettle, that he put the greatest part of them to flight, there being only the Marquels of *Montgomery*, who was ashamed to run away, who resisted *Massette* to the utmost of his power, but very few came in to his assistance, and afterwards his Horse being kill'd, he was at last forc'd to yield himself up Prisoner to the Enemy. The King being immediately informed of the brave resistance he had made, commended him in the presence of all his Officers, and blamed very much those who had been so base as to run away, giving orders that all should be cashier'd who were attainted or convicted of Cowardize, in this Action: The next day the King

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going to view a Castle which was within Musket-shot of the highway, he perceived three Men coming out of the Enemies Quarters, which he presently found to be Prisoners sent back by *Massiette* upon their Paroles; amongst which was the Marquess of *Montgomery* which made him stop, and embracing him, assured him he would take care of him; and to shew how pleasing his services had been to him, he might assure himself he should have the command of the first Regiment that fell in the Army, and that for the Horse that had been kill'd in fighting for him, he would give him another as good, which he performed immediately, by giving him one of the best which was in his own Stable, and the command of a Regiment as he had promised.

To come back then to my Subject, I dare maintain that all those who would be esteem'd skilfull Men upon a party, must always bring Prisoners home ; for they will soon be laughed at, if they go out only to beat the Fields ; as for me, I look upon it that it is better upon these occasions, to have a few with one than many : The reason is, that a great number cannot march without being seen, whereas with a little one, it is much easier to conceal a march, besides not discovering themselves, but when they please they take their time so well as never to do it to no purpose ; and besides all that, if they are pursued, their Retreat is much easier, for there is much time required in passing a Lane, to file off and draw up. Wherefore Monsieur de Turenne always when he had a mind to have certain intelligence of the Enemy, would never send

out above seven Officers, an odd number being observed in War to be the most lucky, and they would go sometimes 30 Leagues from our Army, and would never come back without bringing Prisoners with them. An Officer upon these occasions must carry a Carbine as well as others; for besides the disadvantage there would be in having only Pistols against Men better Armed, he exposes himself to be the first kill'd, and by his Death to destroy the Party; for the common Soldiers do not always fight out of a Principle of honour, so that if their Officers were not present to observe them, they would not stand so firm as they ought; it is only in the Kings Guards that the least of the Officers does not draw along with it that of their Men, but in that body they are almost all capable of being such, and which many of them have been, and

and besides they all stand upon their honour, there being scarce any who would not rather be kill'd, than be said to have shewed any want of Courage in the Fight. After the Marquess d' Illiers and Charvallen, Officers in the Light-horse of the Guard, were kill'd at the Battel of Senesse, the Troop notwithstanding returned to the Battel with as much resolution as before, so that they came off with great honour; it were to be wished that it were the same with the other bodies of the Army: but it having too plainly appear'd to be otherwise, it has been provided against by placing in them at present, a much greater number of Officers, in proportion to what was formerly.

A Man who is detach'd with another of great Reputation, must be sure to observe how he behaves himself, for this is the only and

the surest way for him to learn the trade well; yet all Men being subject to errors, he ought to distinguish between what is good, and what is bad in him. I know a famous Party Commander, who when he is not able to draw his Enemies out of their strong holds, never fails to pull down his breeches, and shew them his breech. This is an Example I would not advise an Officer to follow, it being too mean, for there are many other ways to shew a Man does not fear his Enemy; and it will be said of an Officer who does such a thing, and justifies himself by saying he has seen it done by another, as it was once of a Man who pretended to have taken Example, by a great Author that he has taken care to imitate him, even in all his faults. Our judgment ought to inform us when he does well or ill, for experience being not required in this case, a young

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young Officer if he have sense, may know whether an old one be in the right or in the wrong, because in War all enterprises are to be grounded upon reason; for fortune ought to be trusted with the event only, it is not but some things have two handles, and which to take is often difficult to decide; because often, great praise or great blame must result from the success. There are some who hold it for a maxim, always to prefer what is safe, before what is honourable; as for me, I dare not give my judgment, but this I know, that those who succeed in following the last, get by much the greatest Reputation. It being possible that what I have related, may be difficult to be understood to some, unless they make some application of it. I shall here give another Example: When Monsieur *de Rochfort* Commanded the Kings Forces at the Blocking

up of *Maeſtricht*; he received orders from the King to raiſe it, and fearing that in his Retreat, the Ga-
riſon which conſiſted of Ten thou-
ſand Men, would ſet upon his Reer-
guard, he commanded the whole
Army to be ready to diſcamp at
Mid-night; and forbade the Drums to
beat, or to put fire to the ſtraw
of the Camp, as is uſual, leſt
thereby the Enemy ſhould have
notice of his deſign. Certainly
nothing could ſhew more Prudence
than this Command, for the Ene-
mies were ſtronger than we were,
altho we came to block them up;
and there was reaſon to believe
they knew their own ſtrength, and
our weakneſs. Yet this was not
approved of by every body, and
Monſieur de Chazeron having had
orders, within two days to take
the Command of thoſe Forces, and
march them towards the *Marſhal*
de Turenne, who expected them in
order.

order to his march against the Elector of *Brandenburg*, far from following his Example, drew up in Battalia for two hours within Cannon-shot of the Garison of *Maeſtricht*, provoking the Garison to ſally out by many Challenges, and ſounds of Trumpets. Theſe two ways of proceeding were very different, and yet they were both in the right. *Monſieur de Rochfort* in the condition things were in, thought it his Duty to provide for the ſafety of the Kings affairs. And it was *Monſieur de Chazeron*, on the contrary to uphold in a high meaſure the honour of his Nation, at a time eſpecially when they had done ſuch great actions, and that the Enemies were ſubdued by their loſſes. Whatever may be ſaid of theſe two actions, I dare not determine the point, it being between perſons of that great Command; but this I cannot avoid ſaying, that

that the humour of our Nation carrying us to approve what is bold, and to dislike whatsoever looks like fear; the Action of Monsieur Chazerun, had many more admirers than that of Monsieur de Rochfort.

CHAP. XVI.

How an Officer ought to behave himself in the Fight.

THere are two sorts of Courage, the one which knows no danger, and the other which knows it, but despises it. The first is call'd Fool-hardiness, and the other True-valour; it were to be wished that the first, were only possess'd by the common Soldier, and the other kept in reserve for the Officers; for they having need of judgment, for the conducting of the others,

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others, it is necessary for them to have the discretion not to engage without reason, nor to require any thing from them but what is feasible, this would make an Army invincible, it having all the qualities necessary to carry on a Victory when there is occasion, and to avoid Battel, when it thinks it self too weak: wherefore judgment is the most necessary quallity for an Officer, that teaching him temper even in Battel; for if a Man be of a hot, passionate nature, what good impression can he give to others, who will be apt to think that fear has produced those unfortunate effects; but notwithstanding, a Man is not to affect so much coldness, as to give any manner of cause to the Soldier to believe, it proceeds from any want of Courage, the Cowardize of the Officers soon shewing its effects upon the Soldiers: wherefore an Officer ought
to

so exhort them to do their Duty with a pleasant countenance, and animate them in such a manner, as may shew them, that he has wit enough to Conduct them, and Courage enough to shew them Example, he may also upon this occasion loosing himself from his common seriousness; jest with them, for there is nothing which insinuates a Man's being void of fear, more than this humor when he is in danger. I know one of the greatest Men in the Kingdom, who got great Reputation by this way, when he first came into the Army; he was of a Family which was not otherwise in any great Reputation, for any War-like Actions; but on the contrary, was thought to love the Court better than the Army; so that he knowing the opinion which was of it, he one day being in the Trenches with many other Persons of Quality, desired them
all

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all to take notice that he was the first of his Family that ever was seen in Action, and that he would be obliged to them, if they would send an account of it to *Mezeray*, that he might not forget to mention it in his History. I knew another in the same place, who seeing a Soldier call'd *France*, by chance set his *Bandeles* on fire, cried out it was time to look about, since *France* was all in a flame. Some may say that these jests may cause a Man to be thought good Company, but not to have the more Courage; but it will be answer'd to him, that there are many who are of opinion, that a Man must have a great share of Courage to be master of himself, to such a degree as to be able to be pleasant, in any great danger, it being a mark of his mind not being in the least disturb'd.

When

When those a Man charges at the head of, are ready and willing, he had better invite them to it, by discourse of the honour to be gained, than to terrifie them with reproaches; reproaches are good to Cowards, but Men of Courage would think it strange for them to be suspected of Cowardize, when they never have given any cause for it, either in their Actions or Words; besides which, most Men being inclin'd to Pride, do not love to be told of their faults; it is better therefore to entertain them with the reliance a Man has upon their Courage; for they being willing to believe that what is said of them is in earnest, most commonly endeavour to support a Reputation which has cost them nothing to acquire; but if in the Battel, they shew any mind to quit their Ranks, then all means are to be used, whether threats or reproaches, both being

being very capable of making them change their minds: All Histories are full of those sorts of accidents, of which I shall here mention two Examples. In the War between *Cyrus* and *Astyages*, his Gandfather, the last perceiving that the *Medes* who had taken his part, and in whom consisted the greatest strength of his Army, and seeing them upon the point of turning their backs, commanded those in the Rear to put them all to the Sword if they stir'd; which astonished the *Medes* so much, that chusing rather to die by the hands of their Enemies, they chang'd their fear into despair, and charg'd the *Persians* who were their Antagonists, with so great a fury, that they put them all to flight. *Cyrus*, who Commanded the *Persians*, did upon this all that could be expected from a great General to rally them; but all his endeavours had been to no purpose, had

had not their Wives, being possessed with a scorn of their baseness, and the fear of falling into the hands of the *Medes*, pulled up their Coats, and asked them if they had a mind to take shelter in the places from whence they came? which reproach had so much power over them, that returning to the fight again, animated by despair, and rencountering their Enemies; they not only stopt their Carrier, but also kill'd so great a number of them, that they remained masters of the Field.

Scipio surnamed *Affricanus*, gained also a Victory over *Antiochus*, King of *Syria*, by commanding a Legion which had turned its back in the beginning of the fight to be put to the Sword; but this Legion seeing that they could never expect to appear any more after this infamy, behaved themselves so bravely afterwards, that they alone were

more instrumental in gaining that
 Battle, than all the rest of the For-
 ces which *Scipio* had with him in
 the Army; but there are many
 times occasions wherein these arts
 will not prevail, and where the
 Soldiers fear is not to be overcome
 either by threats or reproaches; a
 Man ought therefore that he may
 have no share with them in their
 many in such a case, chuse rather
 to be taken Prisoner.

An Officer ought to be sure to
 take care in the day of Battle to
 be well Mounted, but he ought to
 take the greatest care his Horse be not
 ill mouthed. First without this,
 he cannot be master of him, and 'tis
 to have too much business upon ones
 hands, to be forc'd to encounter
 at the same time the tricks of a
 Horse and the Enemies charge, and
 besides, his Horse may run away
 with him into their Squadrons; a
 Man's honour oftentimes depends
 also

also upon his Horse, for if he be unruly, and bends towards his own Army, what will hinder those that are apt to censure, to attribute such an accident to the Cowardice of the Rider; for it will not be known to every body, that he rode upon an unruly Horse, and others will not believe it; the not having taken care of this, cost Landresse, Major of the Regiment *de la Chan*, his Life; for his Horse being very hard-mouthed, and having followed a run-away in the Fight, against the will of his Rider; he saw himself so despised for it by the whole Army, that he was forc'd in the next Action that hapned, to expose himself more than ordinary, to repair the loss he had suffered in his Reputation; but he was not so happy as to escape; and that which is most unfortunate in this sort of disgrace, is, that a Man is not sure even with the price of his Life to

retrieve his Reputation, some attributing his Resolution to despair, and others explaining it more to his disadvantage.

One must also not affect in the day of Battel, to Ride the fleetest of our Horses; for there being many who please themselves with construing all things maliciously; would publish it, that we have taken it, that we may make the more hast in running away; it being prudence in us to avoid giving any manner of suspicion as much as we can. I approve extremely of what *Spartacus*, that famous slave did upon this occasion, who being condemned to be a Gladiator, armed himself with spits, and the first Arms he could find to avoid this infamy, and who became afterwards General of the Army: for being to give Battel to *Crassus*, to shew that he relyed upon nothing but his own Courage, he

he before the Fight, with his own hand kill'd his Horse, telling those who demanded of him the reason, that if he won the Battel, he should not want a Horse, and that if he lost it, he should have no occasion for one; and indeed these are the thoughts of a brave Man; for to think of escaping, before the Fight is begun, is to shew a meanness of Spirit, and to deserve the scorn of all the World. I do not forbid the using of a Fleet-horse in a Fight, but only the doing of it particularly upon that occasion; for why should a Man be hindered from Riding a Horse, which he is used to do at other times? and may he not have use for such a Horse, as well to pursue the Enemies as to fly from them? and why must the intentions of a Man be construed in the worst sense, when he gives no reason for it himself.

The King having observed for some years, that he lost many Officers for want of their wearing Armor, has made an order, that no Officer shall go into the Battel without, and that they shall wear it at all reviews; and since I have seen some who out of an excessive rashness affected to wear none, it is not amiss here to observe that as it is the mark of extream fear, to wear Armor when others do not; so it is of extream folly not to wear it when every body else does. First, they are far from gaining as they think a greater Reputation by it; and they pass in the opinion of Men of sense, for Men of great extravagancy; for if it be true, that a Man is obliged to preserve his riches, to pass for a wise Man; how much more ought he to take of his Life, which is more valuable to him than all the riches in the World. Secondly, the exposing a Man's self

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without necessity does not shew a true Valour, but a monstrous Fool-hardiness, for as every one knowes Valour is the effect of Wisdom, but Fool-hardiness the effect of brutishness, so a Man must be more a brute than all the beasts together, to affect exposing himself to evident destruction when he has the means offered him to defend himself; the reason which many give for this humour, is that many are kill'd with their Arms upon them, as if they had none; but besides, that this is to introduce predestination which is an opinion I cannot agree to, it is false in this particular, for nothing is more common than to hear that such a great Officer had been kill'd but for his Head piece, and that another received so many shot in his Arms. I easily agree with them that things so extraordinary often happen, and that Heaven it self seem

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by them to mock at all our endeavours of prevention. Monsieur *de Carvois* Lieutenant in the Guards, elder Brother to the present Quartermaster-General of the Kings Guards, was kill'd at the Siege of *Lisle*, by a Bullet which entered between his Helmet and Breast-piece, where there seemed to be hardly room for the Bullet to pass. *Godony*, an Officer in the same Regiment died also of a wound he received in the Head, he lifting up his Head-piece to give himself a little air; but what does all this conclude against what I formerly urged? but rather confirms it, for had it not been for the space between the Head-piece and the Breast-piece *Carvois* would not have been kill'd; and *Godony* would have been alive, if he had not put up his Head-piece to give himself air.

An Officer always ought to wear a Coat over his Armor, that the Enemy not knowing he is armed, may in the heat of the Fight spend many of his blows upon him in vain, he ought not to stir from his Troop, but keep the crupper of his Horse in the first Rank; keeping also his Ranks so firmly linked together, that they may not possibly be broken, it being the strength of a Squadron, or a Battalian to be so lockt together. At the Battel of *Rockray*, the Battalian of the Count de *Founteines*, for this reason could not be broken, the Enemy being forc'd to have recourse to their Cannon to do it; when a Troop pursues the Enemy, they are to march as much as they can in Battalia, when they march to a Lane, they must take care to form their Squadron or Battalian so soon as they are past it. A Squadron or a Battalian is most commonly
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formed by Files, but when one is near the Enemy, the best is to form it by Ranks; the reason is, because a Rank is much more able to resist than a File, and whilst that makes good its ground, the other Ranks have time to form themselves behind them; this is the way used in all Fights by those who are most knowing in the profession, in places where there are hedges and inclosures, an Officer of Horse ought to take care not to be too far from the Foot, for if he had not them near him, the Enemies Foot would do him no small prejudice; wherefore there is always placed some few Foot between the Squadrons, and for having failed in this, was imputed to Monsieur *le Brett* all the disorder that hapned in the Battel of *St. John de Pages*, amongst the Kings Guards when they come to a hollow way, they throw themselves

into it pell-mell, and soon fall into their places again; but this ought not to be an Example for others, who not having so much experience will find it hard to fall into their places again; that which is to be done in this case is, that every Right-hand Man of a Rank should lead his own Rank, and bring it up into its own place, not troubling himself with any other; to make them all keep a true distance, an Officer ought to put himself at the head of every Rank, it being easie for him to recover his own Post; this way will gain a great deal of time, and things will be done without confusion; when the Enemies are beaten, and that they fly with all hast, the Men one Commands must not be suffered to Plunder, for that gives time to the Enemy to get ground, and to gain some place of safety: for a Man who is concerned in honour for the service

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service of the King, ought only to consider the good of the State, which without dispute does not consist in the booty which the Soldiers unseasonably gain, but in the entire defeat of the Enemies; there is a time for all things, and certainly that is not for pillaging when the Enemy is yet before us; there happen from this many inconveniences, for when the Soldiers are thus scattered about, what hinders the Enemy from rallying and totally changing the face of affairs? besides, what security have we that their flight is not a Stratagem of War to obtain the Victory by? how many have abandon'd their Carriages and Equipages to amuse the Enemies, and then fallen upon them when they thought they were at a great distance from them? *Cyrus* used this artifice in overcoming the *Scythians*; for pretending to be very much amazed with their way

of fighting, and even to be in fear of their strength; he abandon'd his Camp, which was fill'd with all sorts of good Wines, at the first news of their approaching, and whilst they were filling themselves with them, he fell in upon them, and entirely defeated them. Every one has a knowledge of these sorts of artifices; but yet he who has used them many times cannot defend himself from them, so true it is that Man blinds himself in his prosperity: The same *Cyrus*, of whom I have spoken, gives us a remarkable Example of this; for he who had so lately catcht the *Scythians*, was caught by them when he suspected it least. He had in the fight kill'd the Son of *Thomyris*, a Princess who then Reigned over the *Scythians*, who being at the head of the Army her self, made it appear that there was little difference between her, and a great
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General : This Queen lov'd her Son without meature, and having nothing but revenge in her thoughts, fled before *Cyrus* to draw him into some narrow passages wherein she might fight him with greatest advantage to her own side; *Cyrus* being flushed with success, set himself to pursue her without delay, but not suspecting her design, and engaging himself imprudently in a narrow pass, where none but the front of his Army could Fight, *Thomyris* charged him with so much fury, that after having kill'd 200000 Men upon the place, took him Prisoner; but she breathing nothing but revenge, commanded the Throats to be cut of many of those taken with him, and filling a Tub with their blood, she caused the Head of this unfortunate Prince which she had caused to be cut off, to be cast into it; reproaching him, that

since he had been so greedy of human blood in his Life-time, he should have wherewith to glut himself after he was dead. This Example of *Cyrus* shews that it is very difficult to escape Ambuscades when they are cunningly laid: This puts me in mind of what heretofore happened to the Inhabitants of *Megana*, who themselves were taken Prisoners, when they thought to have made others so; they had War against the *Athenians*, and knowing that the Ladies of *Athens* were to assemble themselves upon a certain day at a sacrifice, they set sail with a design to surprize them, when they were all assembled in the Temple; but *Pisistrates* an *Athenian* General having notice of it, lay in wait for them upon the *Avenues*, and having given them Battel, he gained the Victory; after which he went aboard their Ship which he had taken, and placing some

some Women upon the deck he failed for *Megara*; the Inhabitants were upon the Rampires waiting for their Companions, not doubting at all of the happy success of their enterprise, and continuing still to be deceived by the sight of these Women, which they took at first for the Prisoners, they came out to meet them, to lead them in Triumph; but the *Athenians* at the same moment leaping ashore, accomplish'd their shame by their defeat, very few having time to Retreat into the Town. *Sertorius* by a like Stratagem beat the *Germanians*, for after they had failed of their attempt upon *Castulo*, a small Town in *Spain*; he cloathed his Men with the Cloaths of those he had made Prisoners, advancing towards their City; by their resemblance he drew out a great many who ventured without their Walls, so that he made a great slaughter of them.

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But to finish this digression, I shall only say that it is not only of great consequence to hinder the Soldiers from stragling from their Ranks, for the reasons I have before mentioned, but also if an Officer suffers it, he will at last be left by himself; there are Rules for Plunder, as well as for every thing else, there being commonly a party of commanded Men detach'd for that purpose, whilst the rest make head against the Enemy. There is only patience required in this case, but the eagerness and covetousness of the Soldiers, is such, that unless the Officer has a careful Eye upon them, they seldom have so much patience; by these means an Army puts it self out of danger of receiving an affront, for whilst they are Plundering, if the Enemy make any attempt, those who are at their Arms receive them, and give time to the Pillagers to draw themselves

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together, the Pillagers themselves not loosing their booty, they delivering it to be kept by some amongst them, till the Enemy be beaten back; the same way ought to be used in relation to the Prisoners which are made in the Fight, that is to put them into the hands of some detach'd for that purpose, they never fail in this Article, but the other is far more difficult to be observed, because of the covetousness of the Soldiers, which is sometimes so great, that they harken not to any word of Command; at such a time an Officer must use all manner of means, and even kill one amongst them to make the rest return to their Duty; for altho I have said in the former Chapter that mildness is preferable to severity, yet there are times when the first would be extremely hurtful; besides the Soldiers esteem an Officer but the more for it,
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being satisfied when they calmly consider it, that in such a case he had reason to do what he did, and that it was they who forc'd him to it.

CHAP. XVII.

That an Officer ought to understand his Duty in a Garrison, as well as in the Army.

WHEN a Campaign is ended, the Forces are sent into Winter-Quarters; Some remaining in the frontier places, others being sent home into their own Countries to be in Garrison. These last seem to have some advantage over the others, because having nothing to do, they have time to recover themselves; whereas those which remain in the frontier Towns continue to wear themselves out, being

ing all the Winter obliged to be upon Duty; they sometimes being sent out upon Parties; sometimes upon Convoys, and sometimes for Escorts. Those who are upon the frontiers have this advantage, that they learn their Trade much better than the others, because there always falls out there, something new, by which an Officer may learn. This is of use to him upon many occasions, because when there happens any difficulty he is thereby much the readier to resolve it in himself, having seen the same thing happen before and decided; and there happens sometimes such things as are not to be seen elsewhere, one of which I shall here relate, which divided the judgments of many of the profession, being in Garrison at Oudenard, there hapned a dispute for Command, which appeared to be very difficult to judge, altho the Kings
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regulations which seem to have provided for every thing were consulted; it was concerning a certain Party which was commanded out, and which consisted of almost all the Horse of the Garison, when they were drawn up in the Parade place; the first thing considered was to decide to whom the Command did belong, there being only Captains upon the place, all the Colonels being absent; at last it was agreed upon, that it belonged to the Marquess of *Ailli*, a Captain in the Regiment of *Genlis*, but his Lieutenant whose Name was *Legrand*, and who had not yet said any thing, began to dispute the Command with him; saying, that having been a Captain before the *Pyraean* treaty, and it being ordain'd in a certain Article of the Kings orders, that one who had been a Captain, should retake the Rank of his Commission in a detachment,

tachment, he claimed it as his right to retake his, which was to Command the party preferably to all of them; every one looked upon this pretension to be very strange, especially of a Lieutenant, in relation to his Captain, but when the Kings orders were examined, no body durst decide it of his own head, and they were forc'd to desire Monsieur *de Rochpert*, Governor of the place, to give his judgment in it; who having read over several times the Kings orders, asked the opinion of the principal Officers of the Garison, who being inclined to take part with the Captains, decided the thing in favour of the Marquess *Dailly*, which he the next day conformed himself to; *Legrand* was to wait upon him, and without failing in the respect he owed to him, desired him to let him know upon what grounds he had given judgment against him, which

which Monsieur *de Rochpert* was willing to do; telling him, that that ordinance was to be understood only concerning Captains, and not concerning inferior Officers; but *Legrand* answer'd him, that then this Article was needless, for that always the eldest Captains Commanded the others; Monsieur *de Rochpert* answer'd, that he agreed so far with him, but that the precedence of the Regiments being according to their Incorporation, and not their Antiquity; this was what this ordinance had provided for explaining it, that the eldest Captain being the last in the body, should Command those who were before him in a Regiment, if they met upon a detachment; this was the Colour that Monsieur *de Rochpert* pretended he had for the judgment he had given; but many were of opinion, that he had done an injustice to *Legrand*, and that the

Article was to be observed literally, and to shew the reason they had for alledging what they did, they said, that it was no new thing to see an Officer sometimes of less quality than the other Command him; they instanced *Reveillon* who was then Lieutenant Colonel of the Regiment of *Anion*, whom Monsieur *de St. Geran* Colonel of that Regiment, had for a long time obey'd, and *Montaigle* a Captain in the Royal foreign Regiment, who at this present, Commands the Count *de Coigni* who is Colonel of it; and many others, who for brevity sake I shall omit, concluding from thence, that *Legrand* might as well Command the Marquis *D'Ailli*, as *Reveillon* the Count *de St. Geron*, and *Montaigle* the Count *de Caigni*; but without attending to determine, I shall only answer the objections that may be made to me; and say, that when

when Monsieur *de Reveillon* Commanded Monsieur *St. Geron*, it was because he was a Brigadier, and Monsieur *de St. Geron* was not, as also that when Monsieur *de Coigni* obey'd *Montaigle*, it was because *Montaigle* had a Commission of Colonel, altho he had but a Company; and which was more antient than that of Monsieur *Coigni*; and since I have now spoken of *St. Geron*, *Coigni* and *Montaigle*, I think it will not be amiss, to shew here in what a Lieutenant Colonel who is a Brigadier, commands his Colonel, and in what his Colonel commands him. The Colonel obeys him in every thing, except in what concerns the particular management of his Regiment, and has also the same authority over the Lieutenant Colonels Company, as if the Lieutenant Colonel were not a Brigadier: As to a Captain of Horse who has a Commission of

Colonel, and whose Commission is more antient than that of his Colonel, he always obeys his Colonel, excepting in a detachment; for whether in Fight or in a March, the Colonel is always at the head of the first Squadron, and leaves him the second to Command; in the Horse there are some of these Captains who have Colonels Commission; but this is almost all that they can pretend to, when they have no Regiment which goes under their name, never having seen, as I remember any but the *Chevalier de Esclainvilliers*, come to be a Brigadier without having one; it is not the same in the Foot, where the Lieutenant Colonels are every day made Brigadiers, altho they have no Regiment of their own; the reason in my opinion is, that there being fewer Regiments of Foot, than of Horse, and that they also seeming to be reserved for
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Men of the greatest quality, it is not just that a Man of desert, because he is not rich must bound his Fortune with a small Command; besides a Man must have a great Estate to be a Colonel of Foot; for unless he know himself to be in a condition to maintain a great port, I would never advise a Man to take such a Command: for it is quite another thing to be a Colonel of Foot, than of Horse; yet the Colonels of Foot, as well as those of Horse, are much fallen from what they were heretofore; for before the *Pyrenean* peace, they disposed of all the Commissions in the Regiments, the Court always gratifying the Persons named by them, without ever refusing it; but altho that might have given them a great power, yet they had that amongst the Officers of the Regiment but according to their Courage; for
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the custom of those times was, that a Colonel was forc'd to fight five or six Captains before he could be considered by the others. This was practis'd, especially in the Old Regiments, and principally in those of them which were small ones, wherein there were Captains who would take upon them, as much as if they were Generals of an Army: *Arbouville*, a Gentleman of the Province of *Normandy*, who had been bred up Page to the King, used in that time a *Radomontade*, which did not succeed well with him; for having bought the Command of one of these little Old Regiments, when he came to be receiv'd, he declared at the head of the Regiment, that he had brought with him twelve Swords of the same length to try them with the most mutinous; and that if there were any one of them, who was not satisfied with his being Colonel, he

he desired to let him know it, and he would soon give him satisfaction. The next day all the Captains of his Regiment came to him, and each desired a Sword; but it not being possible for him to fight with them all at once, he agreed with the Captain who passed for the boldest amongst them, to fight with him first; thinking that if he would master him, he should strike a terror into all the rest; but, the fortune of Arms being against him; he took another to task, by whom he was also beaten, and was so by five or six, one after another: the Captains do at this time shew themselves much wiser, and none of them dare draw their Sword against their Colonel, for if they should, an exemplary punishment would be inflicted upon them for it; yet if a Colonel be not in esteem with his Regiment, the Captains find out other ways

ways to get him removed, in which they sometimes succeed; in the year 1675. the Regiment of *Langudock* deputed some of their number to the King, to desire that their Colonel might be removed, and prevailed so much by their solicitations, that the King granted their request. In the Horse the factions are seldom known, but sometimes there are secret ones; of which the Majors make themselves heads: a prudent Man therefore must endeavour to live well with them; but if you be forc'd to take part with any, let him stick to a Colonel, for after all, there is nothing better than holding by the body of the Tree; that is to say, to have no other interest, than that of ones Chief.

But I am come too far from the subject which I propos'd to myself in this Chapter, which was to shew that an Officer ought to

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know as well what is his Duty in a Garison, as when he is in the Army. There are two sorts of Garisons, the one upon the Frontier, and the other in the Heart of the Country: Although the last seems not to require much experience, yet there happens in them many times such accidents that he would pass his time very ill, if he were wholly to seek in them. I shall relate some Examples to justify this, after I have said a word of what passes in Frontier places; the same Duty is done in Frontier places, as in the Army, excepting that the Orders are not always given by the same Person. I have already spoken amply of this, and therefore it will be superfluous to repeat the same thing over again; every one is detach'd in his turn, whether for the Guard or for Parties, and every Night they send out a Patrol

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It is not in these Garisons where one has much trouble, for one does not fear the Enemy, or at least if one does, all the care lies upon the Governor; and in obeying him, and doing ones Duty, a Man is free from all anxiety and care; if there happens an alarm, the Foot run to the Rampart, and the Horse to the Parade place, or draw to the esplanade, after having received the Town-Majors Orders so to do; for till then they are only to draw up, and to be ready to March at the first word of Command. When Troops are sent into Villages or Castles, whose situation is so advantageous, that it is necessary to keep them, an Officer must necessarily know how to behave himself in this service, there being none to advise with: if it be in a Village that you are posted, you must immediately stop all the Avenues, and retire

into the Church if there be one, or into some house which may be defended; both Night and Day there must be a Guard set at the end of the Village, unless the passage may be cut; in such a case it may be enough to place one at the first Barracado; this Guard must be often visited, and especially in the Night, for then most commonly the Enemy makes his attempt, there are often Orders given to have an Advanced-guard in the Day-time, at about five or six hundred paces from the Village or Castle, as the ground is more or less divided by hedges and ditches; but there must be great care taken not to set them, till the place has been viewed by the Patrole, which is a detachment from the Guard which is to be set; which during this time, as well as all the rest of the Garrison are at their Arms, till the
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Patrole be returned; the Garifon then advances to a certain place where they are drawn up in Battalia, so that there remains in the Church or in the Castle, only such as are upon the Guard, who are likewise at their Arms till the Garifon are re-enter'd, which they never do, till the Guard they went to relieve be returned; these Advanc'd guards return always at Sun set, and the Guard of the Castle or of the Church, always are at their Arms; when they see them coming; there is less to be feared in these places, than in walled Towns that are weak, because the circumvallation being much less, the Enemy is seldom to be feared but on one side, so that if there be a good Guard placed on that side; it puts the Garifon out of danger of any attempt; in these weak Towns one must have a Retreat ready, in

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case of surprize, either in the Church or in some strong House, and place Men round about them, that if the Enemy should Scale the Walls, they may hold out for some time, and make some Composition; *Montgomery*, who was a Captain of Horse, and a near Kinsman of the Marquess I formerly spoke of, was for not having used this caution, with his whole Troop of Horse surprized in a little Town in *Alsatia*, and carried away Prisoners; he was kill'd since, so there can be no great prejudice to instance him for an Example.

I forgot to mention that there must always be in these sorts of Garisons, a Centry or two placed in the Steeple, two being best; for they being allowed to talke together in such a Post, there will be the less danger of their sleeping; this is what is to be said in gross,

gross, concerning Frontier Garisons, for I will not here speak of the Signal which is to be given for the demanding of Succours, in case of need; for that depends upon the nearness of Quarters, and the Orders we receive, an Officer not daring of his own head to quit his Garison, upon any account whatsoever; as for inland Garisons, I have many things to say of them, although they seem, as I have said, not to require any great experience; yet one must have more than one thinks of, there happening every day differences between the Officers and the Inhabitants, the Officers expecting to have the Kings Orders literally observed; and the others explaining them according to their own humors, or rather interest. There are two sorts of orders, the one to pay to content, and the other wherein

no mention is made of any payment: The first is that which causes most disputes between the Officer and the Inhabitant, because neither of them understand it, or at least pretend they do not: I have known the Inhabitants upon such an Order, pretend that the Soldiers are to pay the same with other Men; and the Officers to the contrary, alledge that they are not obliged to any payment; in both which they willfully mistake; the Kings intentions being, when he gives these Orders; being that the Inhabitant should get nothing by the Soldier, and that the Soldier should make the Inhabitant lose nothing by him; that is to say, that the Soldier is to pay his Landlord for his provision, what it is sold for in gross in the Market, and not as it is sold in Retail; I know very well that a great

great many Officers pretend that
this Order is not to be explained
in this manner; but so much the
worse for them if they explain it
otherwise; for they ought to fol-
low the intention of the Kings
Orders, and not exact any thing
beyond it; wherefore an Officer
must take great care in this case;
that his Soldiers live frugally, and
that the Inhabitants do not give
them all they ask for; for they
having but a little Money to spend,
they are to be treated according
to their Purse, and not their Ap-
petite. The Inhabitants cannot re-
fuse advancing provision for a Man
and Horse for Ten days; at the
end of which time, they may
demand payment for it; but if
the Officer have not received
pay for his Soldiers, they must
continue to furnish them until
they can receive Money. The
forces are at present so very
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well paid, that this seems to be
a needless remark; yet it being
possible that such a thing may hap-
pen, and which has not been is not
Example, I shall here set down
what is to be done upon this
occasion; as also, how an Officer
is to behave himself when he
receives Orders to remove to o-
ther Quarters, and has not Mo-
ney to discharge those which he
leaves; he must then give his
Note for it, and they cannot re-
fuse it, and much less stop him,
unless they have a mind to bring
themselves into trouble enough;
all that they can do for
their own safety, is to put a
stop upon the Companies pay in
the hands of the Paymaster, that
being as good as ready Money
to them, there being so good an
Order now established, that none
have reason to complain.

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There are places where the Inhabitants do not know what belongs to Soldiers, not having had many Garisons amongst them; so that they think if they have the strength on their side, they may force the Soldiery to what they please; I pity these sort of People, for without doubt they will soon find cause to repent this humor; for an Officer who understands himself, cares not whether he be strong or weak, to have that allowed him which is due to him; for having Justice of his side, he knows that the King will be sure to do him Justice upon the Inhabitants who refuse it. A certain Author gives us an authentical instance of this; his relation is this, that the *Chevallier* Duke, having orders to have his Winter-quarters in *Mazeares*, retired to two Country houses near the Town, upon the re-

refusal which the Inhabitants made to him of furnishing him with Forage, according to the Kings Orders, where he lived upon the Provisions which were in the two houses, till an Officer which he had sent to Court to complain, had brought him the Kings Orders for what he was to do; which was to return to *Mazeares*, and to Quarter upon them at discretion for some time; upon these occasions, an Officer needs only to write to the Secretary of War, for he never fails to inform the King of it, and the Troops lose nothing for having been ill used; but it is not enough to send up to him barely a Letter only, but must accompany it with an information signed by all the Officers; and wherein the fact is recited in short. A Captain of Horse, who understood his business very well, but
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who was of a very passionate humor, having had a Quarter of Rendezvouz given him at *Tarascon* in the County of *Foix*, and desiring rather to have it in Money, which was allowed of in that time; he went often thither to demand his due, but in vain, all the Inhabitants of the Country having made a Combination together, by which they obliged themselves one to the another, not to pay any towards Quarters of Rendezvouz, so that the Officers being out of hopes of getting any Money out of them, should not demand it any more in those parts; at length this Officer seeing himself forced to take his Quarters *in specie*, borrowed 50 Horse-men to make his Troop the more numerous, which was intended for pure vexation, (a Troop consisting but of 50 Horse) and went to the Town, being accompanied
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by one of the Governor of the Province's Guards, to make use of him as time and place required; he not being able to bear it, that the other Captains should get 942 Livers from their Quarters of Rendezvous, and that he should get nothing; being come to *Tarrascon*, the Consuls delivered out to him Billets for 100 Horse, in which they shew'd the little knowledge they had of the Kings establishment, by which a Troop is to consist but of 50; yet when they perceived that this lay very heavy upon their Town, they two days afterwards thought of lessening the allowance to one half, (which was then of three quarts of Wine, 24 Ounces of Bread, a Bushel of Oates and 20 Pound of Hay, *per diem*, all according to the Wait and Measure of *Paris*;) saying, that one half of it was enough for a Horse, and
Horse-

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Horse-man; the Captain who desired nothing more than a Civil to have the pretence of revenging himself, gave the Consul very provoking language, who standing much upon their points, returned it to him, and they refusing to deliver out any more provisions than what they had agreed upon, the Captain collected one of them, and taking away the Staff which he carried in his hand as a mark of his Authority, he broke it about his Ears, which made the whole Town rise up in Arms; they began to ring their Watch-bell to call to their assistance, not only those of the out-skirts of the City, but the Inhabitants of the Mountains which are round about the Town; the Captain seeing himself in this extremity, put on resolution, and having call'd his Men about him, seiz'd upon

on the Market-place, making
his Men take straw in their hands,
and threatened to set the Town
on fire if they charged him, still
taking the Governors Guard for
a witness of what passed; so that
the Inhabitants fearing his despe-
rate humor, hindering the Vil-
lagers from entring into the Town,
Capitulated with him, chu-
sing rather to pay him his Quar-
ter of Rendezvouz, than suffer
things to come to a greater
heighth.

There every day happen dif-
ferences between the Officers,
and the Inhabitants; but an
Officer is very strong when he
has justice on his side. I have
known an Example of this in
the same Country I have now
spoken of; and this Example ap-
pears to me, to be more con-
siderable than the former, for
after the setting of a Garison, it
seems

seems to me that there ought not to be allowed any change, without being responsible, for the evil consequences which may happen from it; two Troops having Orders to remain at *Labastide de feron*, paying the Inhabitants to content; a new Captain commanding the Quarters, established all things as well as he understood them; that is to say, like a Man who understood not his business in the least; soon after, the other Captain coming, and being surprized at what his Comrade had done; demanded to make a new agreement with the Inhabitants, and they resolving to stand to the agreement made with the other Captain, there arose a hot dispute, upon which the Inhabitants published an order of Common-Council, to forbid furnishing any thing more to either Troop. The Captain surprized with their way
of

of proceeding, and knowing himself to be in the right, commanded the Men to take Provision and Forage from them by force, if they would not give it them willingly, which Command soon proved the occasion of their coming to blows on both sides; but besides that the Inhabitants were beaten, they were also punished for it by the Court, for they had more Troops sent, who made an end to eat them up; the other Order wherein there is no mention of paying *to content*, does also sometimes cause quarrels, and that because the Officers will always find their accompt, and in truth the Inhabitants are to find Lodging and the Utensils, *viz.* Fire and Candle, &c. but there are sometimes secret orders sent, to the Intendants of the Provinces to see that the Forces be well used; this is done especially

especially after any long Campaign, where the Soldier has endured much fatigue; wherefore the Inhabitants ought never to be stiff in requiring the Execution of the King's Orders according to the letter, till they have first advised with the Intendant; how they are to behave themselves, these secret orders were very often sent when the King gave nothing for the Utensils, for the Captains not being able to recruit their Troops without help it was necessary to allow them some way or other to enable themselves to compleat them: but since the King has furnished this out of his own Coffers, there has been care taken to keep the Troops within the bounds of their Duty, and whoever dares offend is soon punished, neither quality nor service exempting them from punishment if

if they deserve it. I have known a Son of a Marshal *de France* sent to the *Bastille*, upon a complaint made of him by the Inhabitants of his Quarters: so that if some Inhabitants have Quartered whole Regiments, without receiving payment for them, it may be said it was because they were willing to do it, or that they rather chuse thus to buy their peace by sacrificing something, than to claim what is due to them, and live in Combustion; for it must be agreed, that Soldiers are never in a good humor, when their Landlord does not give them some small gratification; there are two sorts of Utensil, that which the King gives which is taken in Money, and the other due from the Inhabitants which is given in kind, the which they are not to turn into Money upon any pretence whatsoever; as to the first, which

which is designed for the recruiting of the Troops; the King orders some of it to be given to the common Soldiers, but a Captain who knows his profession is not so simple as to trust them with it; the reason is, that if they did not employ this Money in buying of Stockins, Shooes and Linnen for them, for which this is design'd, the Captain would be oblig'd to buy all these things himself, for it would be so much loss to him to relie upon their honesty, for a Commissary of Muster seldom troubles himself to know what they have receiv'd, but only to see them in a condition of marching and doing their Duty; a Captain ought therefore to know, that the Utensils that the King gives is design'd for two things, *viz.* to buy Horses for the Troop, and

which

provide Cloaths for the Soldiers; the Money for the Horses is to be taken out of that part of the Utensil, for which the Captain is to give account to no body; the Money for the Cloaths is to be taken out of the rest of this Utensil, and this belongs to the private Soldiers; so that an Officer is obliged to be accomptable to them for it before he goes into the Field, or as soon as he comes there. The Troopers pretended when the King gave this allowance first, that they were to have it without deduction, and that the Captains were to Cloath them, but the Commissaries who were deputed to judge between them, decided this point otherwise; and that further, it was lawful for the Captains to stop some of their pay, if the Utensil was not sufficient to do it, which happened but too often, Twelve Crowns

and

and a half, which they get out of a Winter-Quarters, not being enough to put them in Equipage; it is the same with the Foot, in which the Soldiers receive nothing till they are Cloathed from head to foot, and that is what makes the Forces appear so well in Cloaths at this time; a Captain chusing rather to lay out the last penny upon their Cloaths, than let them have it to increase their debauchery; and besides this uses the Soldiers to have a care of their Cloaths, for knowing that what others are bought for them, must be at their own expence, they endeavour to preserve those they have. I have said before, that an Officer owed an account to his Men when they came out of their Winter-Quarters, and this is so true, that I have known a Captain of Horse suspended for having refused to give it to a private
Cen-

Centry of his Troop; wherefore an Officer ought always to keep his Book of Accompts in order and to shew it the Soldiers, it being best for him to Accompt with them of himself, before they require it of him; for it is certain, that if he be indebted to some a small matter, others will prove to be more indebted to him; and if he did not reckon with these last, and make up a state of the Accompt in their presence, they will not remember it the next year, or at leastwise pretend they do not.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the Authority of the Commissaries over the Forces.

THE Office of the Commissary is not only to Muster the Forces, but the Commissaries also take Cognizance of their Quarters, Forages, and of all disorders which happen in their March; but notwithstanding their power, an Officer who intends to do his Duty as he ought, is not to apply himself to make Court to them, there being none but those who endeavor to make unlawful advantages who have need to do it; but he ought not on the contrary to be wanting in civility to them, but shew a respect for
O them;

them; the King having chosen them to see that every one acquit himself of his Duty, it would be to shew very little submission to the orders of his Prince, to despise those whom he honours with his choice; he ought not therefore to make any reflection upon their Birth, which would often incline us to make little Account of them, but upon their Character which requires us to have some consideration for them. An Officer of Quality asked one of them as he was Mustering his Regiment, which weighed most in his Pockets, his Muster-Rolls or his Masters Prayer Books, for it was said the Commissary had been a Footman: in my opinion these are unseasonable railleries; and if this Officer will speak the truth, he must confess he was displeased with

with this Officer upon some other account, but whether for his too great severity in his Mustering of his Troop, or for any other reason I will not determine; the Officers are to have a respect for the Commissaries, much more ought the Commissares to have so for the Officers; for they ought not to take upon them, because they have a power of obliging them; for they cannot do a pleasure to any body without being guilty of a breach of their own Duty, for which their Lives are answerable; but as there are many of these who forget themselves so much, as to think themselves much greater than they are; so I must confess, there are many Officers who use them so ill, that they bring themselves into great trouble for it. I have seen many Exam-

ples of this kind, of which I shall relate those which I can remember; after which, I shall shew what power they have which cannot be disputed with them. *St. Simon*, a Colonel of Horse of whom I formerly spoke, being in Garison at *Ath*, and going to the Magazine of Hay, upon the complaint which his Regiment had made to him, that the Hay was not good, struck the Store-keeper several blows with his Cane, which occasioned some disturbance, and immediately a Commissary call'd *du Chaunoi*, came up, and having checkt *St. Simon* for his passion; *St. Simon* answered him, that Thieves always took part with their fellows, and therefore he did not wonder that he took the Store-keepers part; *du Chaunoi* was concerned at these words;
and

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and saying, he would write word of it to Monsieur *de Loueris*; St. *Simon* continued his abuses, and was lifting up his hand to strike at him, which forc'd *du Chaunoi* to go home, whither he was no sooner come, but he wrote word of it to Monsieur *de Louois*, who not approving of these proceedings; sent order that St. *Simon* should keep Prison for a Fortnight; after which, the Governor of the place was enjoined to assemble all the chief Officers of the Garison together, before whom St. *Simon* was ordered to ask pardon of the Commissary; this was set down in exprefs terms in the order, and St. *Simon* notwithstanding his high Spirit was forc'd to obey: one cannot take too much care to avoid having any dispute with those sort of People; for if a

Man despises them , he is forc'd afterwards to shew them a respect, and sometimes worse happens : and I have seen Officers of great desert and long service in danger of being cashier'd , for having used them otherwise than he ought to have done. *St. Andre* a Brigadier of Foot , and Lieutenant Colonel of the Regiment of *Saux* and a Man of Courage , but whose passion had very much prejudiced him in the making of his Fortune , cudgel'd a Commissary , because having seen him at *Perpinian* , he did notwithstanding go and Muster his Regiment that was Quarter'd thereabout , without giving him notice of it : *St. Andre* was suspended for this , and if he had not had a great many Friends who begg'd for him , and pleaded his long service , he had been

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been cashier'd without mercy; there is nothing so dangerous as this sort of violence, Wise men abstain from using it, not only towards the Commissaries, but towards the meanest Persons whatsoever. The Marshal *de la Ferte*, who was always of an imperious humor, once acknowledged this fault in himself very genteely; he then commanded the Kings Army jointly with Monsieur *de Turenne*, so that there being some jealousy between them, he hapned one day to strike one of the Guards of that Prince, whether to discharge his Choller, or finding him in a fault I cannot tell: the Guard immediately went to his Master, exaggerating to him this Action of the Marshal, to inspire him with the thoughts of taking revenge upon him; but Monsieur *Turenne* far from entering

into any passion; told him, that certainly he had much provoked the Marshal, since he had used him as he had done; and calling at the same time the Captain of his Guards, he ordered him to go with him to the Marshal *la Ferté*, and to put him into his hands, to dispose of him as he pleased: Monsieur *de la Ferté*, who expected that this Prince would have made another sort of resentment of it, was extremely surpriz'd with this moderation, and beginning to reflect upon his own passion, confest openly to those who were with him, that Monsieur *de Turenne* would always be as wise as he was mad; he could not in my opinion better shew the concern he had for it, and indeed when we have hapned to do an Action, that we ought not to have done it,
seems

seems to me that there needs no other but our selves to condemn us, if we make the least reflection upon our Actions.

But to come back to the power of the Commissaries, it is certain they have an absolute power over all Quarters of Soldiers, either in relation to the Officers, or to the Mayors and chief Magistrates of the Town. It belongs also to them, to see that the first commit no violences, and that the last be not partial in exempting their Friends and Kindred; as to the first, they may give them Billets to Quarter in the houses of any of the Inhabitants, and these Billets are as good as if they had been given out by the Officers of the Town. The Officers of the Army easily acknowledge their

power in this, but the Officers of the Towns are very unwilling to do it, because it diminishes very much their power, but nothing is more sure than that the Commissaries have this power; and I have seen a thing happen here-upon which shews it plainly, the Regiment of *Alsatia* was there in Garison, and the Officers of the Town having exempted from Quarters the Brother-in-law of an Alderman who was liable to them; the Commissary sent a Captain to Lodge at his house, and gave him a Billet for the same; there arose upon this a great contest between the Captain and the Brother-in-law of the Alderman; the Captain endeavouring to Lodge there by force, the other shut the door against him, so that the Captain was going to break it open, upon

upon which the Neighbours went immediately to give notice to the Officers of the Town of what was doing, who came without delay upon the place, but they instead of appeasing the Tumult, raised the People against the Soldiers, many being wounded on both sides, at length the Soldiers got the mastery; but not being contented with this alone, and expecting a greater satisfaction, they sent to Court an Information of what had hapned; and the King being informed of it, the Officers of the Town were turned out, and others put in their places. The Cognizance of all abuses committed by Mayors and other chief Officers, in relation to Quarters belongs to the Commissary alone; as for the Officers of the Army, they ought not to meddle

meddle with it in the least, altho they know that the kinsmen and friends of the Officers of the Town are favoured: By the Kings Ordinances there ought none to be freed in a Town from Quartering, but the Lieutenant General the Kings Attorney, and Gentlemen using the profession of Arms; for a Gentleman who is a Lawyer, is as subject to Quartering as any other Inhabitant of the Town.

The Commissaries have also a great power in relation to Forage, as well for the distribution of it, as for the redressing of the complaints which are made against the Store-keepers; it is their Duty also to have an Eye over them, that the Forage be of the weight and quality which is required, and that they com-
mit

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mit no knavery in their Offices; it is Death for a Store-keeper to be found Guilty, and oftentimes the Commissary is made responsible for what he does, he being presumed to be of intelligence with him: In the year 1674. as I remember the Store-keeper of *Joinville* was hang'd, he being convicted of delivering out Forage, which was spoiled and of less weight than it ought to have been; the same thing had like to have hapned to a Commissary in the year 1676. who was accused of holding intelligence with the Store-keeper of *Dunkirk*, and although he had many friends, yet he was discharged from his Office; all the Commissaries generally speaking, do now behave themselves well in their Office, but as there may be some amongst them who
are

are dishonest, it is good to know their tricks, to be able to defend our selves from their rapine; it is necessary therefore that an Officer know, that the Oates which the King orders for their Winter-Quarters, ought to be measur'd by the measure of *Paris*, and he ought to see, if the measure which is in the Magazine, be the same with that of that City; if it be not, it is the fault of the Store-keeper or the Commissary, or sometimes of both together, for the Commissary having Orders to inspect the behaviour of the Store-keeper, he would never dare to cheat the Officers, if he were not sure of the others support: in this case an Officer ought to make his complaint to the Commissary, as if he did not suspect him to be in Combination with the other,
and

and he will be sure to do him Justice, not only for the future, but also for the time past; the measures which I have seen in all the Magazines, either in *Lorrain*, *Alfatia*, or *Catalonia*, are all marked; as are those remaining in the Manner-houses of Lords, with which Tole Corn is measur'd; so that one would think that no knavery could be used, but yet I have seen Bushels so pared at the top, that they wanted a great deal of what they should hold; the Store-keeper runs a great hazard, when he practises these sorts of knavery, for if he be found out it will cost him his Life; but a prudent Officer having discovered any such knavery, ought to content himself with punishing him in the purse; for that will help him to make his Troop better, and his Death will do

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do him no good; it is also to be
observed, that the measure ought
to be heaped, at least the Oates
were always measured so in the
last Winter-Quarters; yet there
have been Commissaries seen,
who pretending to be ignorant
of the Orders, have made them
be delivered out by a stricken
measure, and divided the over-
pluss with the Store-keeper to
his own advantage; this is also a
Capital offence, because the Hor-
ses not having all the Oates they
should have to recruit themselves,
it is undoubtedly a great prejudice
to the Kings service.

Commissaries have been also
sometimes known to compound
with the Inhabitants for their
Hay, and to deliver that which
was musty to the Officers; in
this case, the Officers ought to be
severe

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severe with them; for altho I said before, that the Commissaries had full power over the Forage, that is only to be understood when they do the King service as they ought, for otherwise we are not to look upon them.

These are the ways the Commissaries make use of to cheat the Officers, as to the Corporations they are often cheated by them also; because they having a dependance upon the Commissaries, by reason of the Winter Quarters, which they are obliged to provide, they dare not complain what reason soever they may have, and it often happens that the Commissaries have Quarters assigned them in every quarter of the Town, but they not being able to make use of above one, convert the others
into

into Money; it is the Kings and the Corporations interest only, which is concern'd so, that it is their part to look after it; but to speak no more of these sorts of misdemeanours, I shall inform you that besides the power that Commissaries have in relation to Quarters and Forage, they have also a great deal of Authority given them, in relation to the disputes which fall out between the Soldiers and the Inhabitants, for their Information is always believed preferably to that of the parties concern'd, so that which side soever gains them, is sure to have what he desires: Thus Monsieur *de Vervins* the Commissary of War, for the Forces which had their Winter-Quarters in the Country of *Foix*, contributed very much towards the command

mand, which the Governor of that Province received, to dispose of his Employment by the frequent complaints he made against him.

It belongs to the Commissaries to Administer the Oath to all the Officers who come into the service; there is due to him for this the Sword which the Officer then wears: but they often wearing one which is not of any great value, this Fee is commonly changed into a present of Money, to the value of a Months pay; there are some Commissaries who pretend that an Officer who is prefer'd, owes them a new present, because he is to take the Oath again; but this is an abuse, and an Officer who knows the Word, will not yield to it, being only due at the first entring into the service.

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